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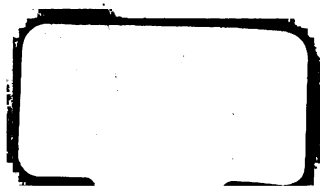
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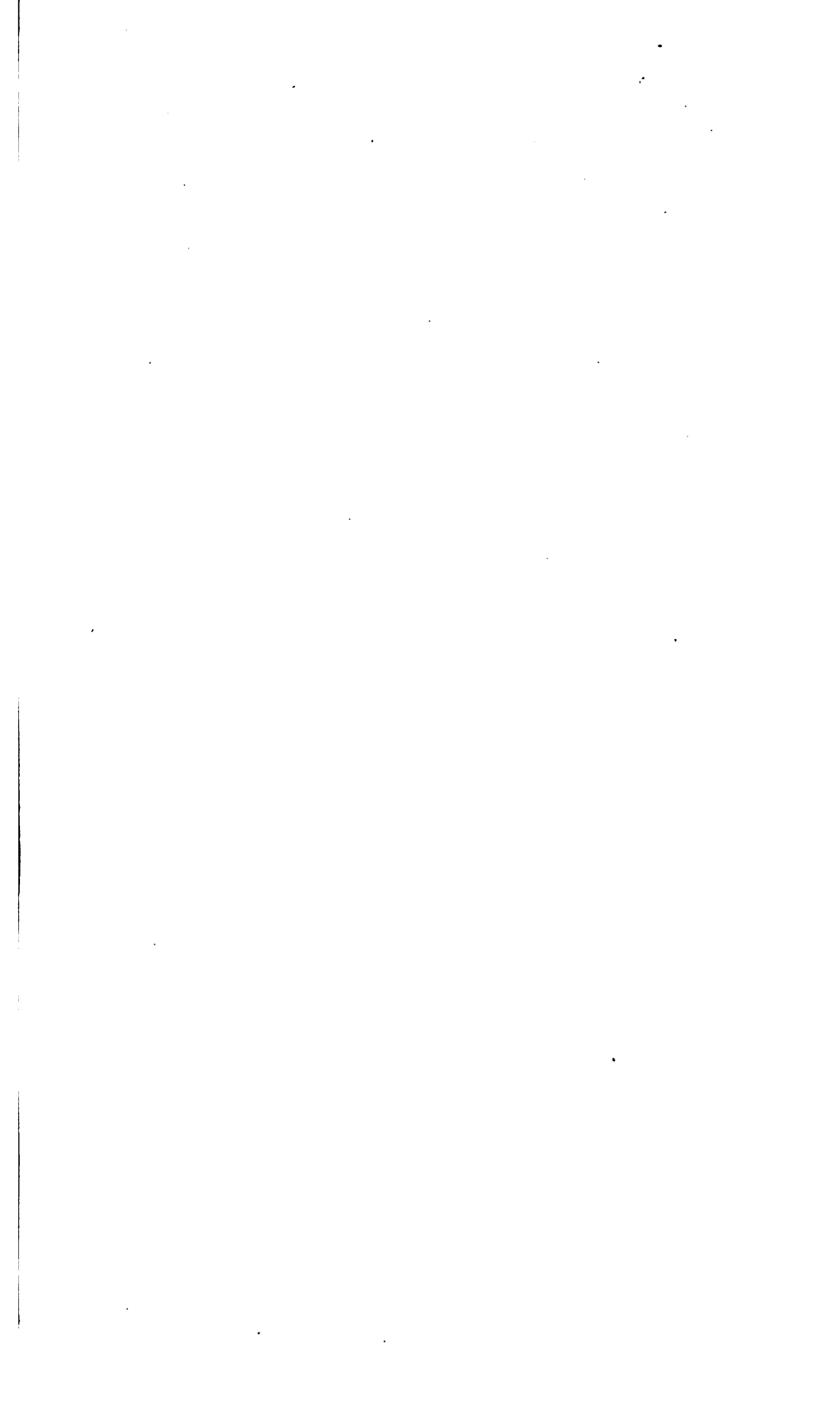


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C. Boone
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**THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND
FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.**

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON.

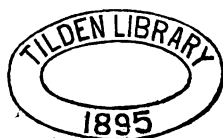
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXI.

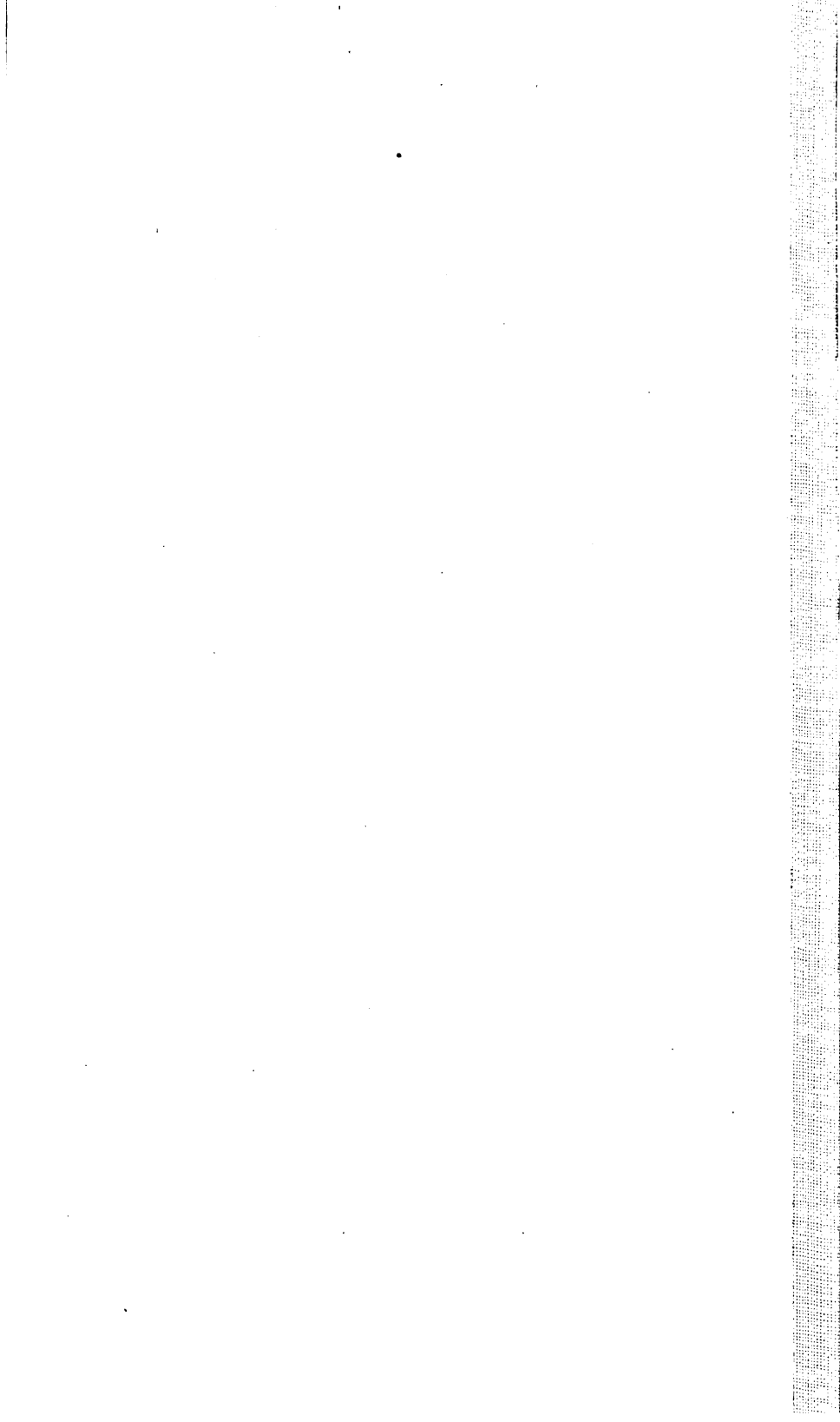
PERSECUTION OF HERESY.—THE SCHISM OF THE DONATISTS.—THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.—ATHANASIVS.—DISTRACTED STATE OF THE CHURCH AND EMPIRE UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS.—TOLERATION OF PAGANISM.

	Page		Page
A.D. 312. African controversy . . .	3	Arian councils . . .	35
A.D. 315. Schism of the Donatists . .	5	Character and adventures of Athanasius . . .	38
The Trinitarian controversy . . .	7	A.D. 330. Persecution against Athanasius . . .	41
B.C. 350. The system of Plato . . .	ib.	A.D. 336. His first exile . . .	43
B.C. 300. The Logos taught in the school of Alexandria . . .	8	A.D. 338. And restoration . . .	44
A.D. 97. Revealed by the apostle St. John . . .	10	A.D. 341. His second exile . . .	ib.
The Ebionites and Docetes . . .	ib.	A.D. 349. And restoration . . .	46
Mysterious nature of the Trinity . .	12	A.D. 351. Resentment of Constantius . . .	48
Zeal of the christians . . .	13	A.D. 353-355. Councils of Arles and Milan . . .	49
Authority of the church . . .	16	A.D. 355. Condemnation of Athanasius . . .	51
Factions . . .	ib.	Exiles . . .	53
Arians . . .	17	A.D. 356. Third expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria . . .	54
A.D. 318-325. Three systems of the Trinity . . .	18	His behaviour . . .	57
I. Arianism . . .	ib.	A.D. 356-362. His retreat . . .	58
II. Tritheism . . .	19	Arian bishops . . .	61
III. Sabellianism . . .	20	Divisions . . .	62
A.D. 325. Council of Nice . . .	ib.	I. Rome . . .	63
The homousion . . .	21	II. Constantinople . . .	65
Arian creeds . . .	23	Cruelty of the Arians . . .	67
Arian sects . . .	25	A.D. 345, etc. The revolt and fury of the Donatist Circumcellions . . .	69
Faith of the western or Latin church .	27	Their religious suicides . . .	72
A.D. 360. Council of Rimini . . .	28	A.D. 312-361. General character of the christian sects . . .	73
Conduct of the emperors in the Arian controversy . . .	29	Toleration of paganism by Constantine . . .	ib.
A.D. 324. Indifference of Constantine . . .	30	And his sons . . .	76
A.D. 325. His zeal . . .	ib.		
A.D. 328-337. He persecutes the Arian and the orthodox party . .	32		
A.D. 337-361. Constantius favours the Arians . . .	33		

CHAPTER XXII.

JULIAN IS DECLARED EMPEROR BY THE LEGIONS OF GAUL.—HIS MARCH AND SUCCESS.—THE DEATH OF CONSTANTIVS.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF JULIAN.

The jealousy of Constantius against Julian . . .	80	A.D. 360. The legions of Gaul are ordered to march into the east . . .	82
Fears and envy of Constantius . . .	81		



CONTENTS.

vii

His design of invading Persia . . .	190	Marches against Sapor . . .	215
Disaffection of the king of Armenia . . .	191	Retreat and distress of the Roman army . . .	217
Military preparations . . .	192	Julian is mortally wounded . . .	219
Julian enters the Persian territories . . .	193	A. D. 363. The death of Julian . . .	221
His march over the desert of Mesopotamia . . .	194	A. D. 363. Election of the emperor Jovian . . .	224
His success . . .	196	Danger and difficulty of the retreat . . .	226
Description of Assyria . . .	197	Negotiation and treaty of peace . . .	228
A. D. 363. Invasion of Assyria . . .	199	The weakness and disgrace of Jovian . . .	230
Siege of Perisabor . . .	200	He continues his retreat to Nisibis . . .	231
Siege of Maogamalcha . . .	201	Universal clamour against the treaty of peace . . .	233
Personal behaviour of Julian . . .	203	Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and restores the five provinces to the Persians . . .	235
He transports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris . . .	206	Reflections on the death of Julian . . .	237
Passage of the Tigris, and victory of the Romans . . .	208	His funeral . . .	239
A. D. 363. Situation and obstinacy of Julian . . .	211		
He burns his fleet . . .	213		

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF JOVIAN.—ELECTION OF VALENTINIAN, WHO ASSOCIATES HIS BROTHER VALENS, AND MAKES THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES.—REVOLT OF PROCOPIUS.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION.—GERMANY.—BRITAIN.—AFRICA.—THE EAST.—THE DANUBE.—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN.—HIS TWO SONS, GRATIAN AND VALENTINIAN THE SECOND, SUCCEED TO THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

A. D. 363. State of the church . . .	241	A. D. 365. I. GERMANY. The Alemanni invade Gaul . . .	278
Jovian proclaims universal toleration . . .	243	Their defeat . . .	279
A. D. 363. His progress from Antioch . . .	245	A. D. 368. Valentinian passes and fortifies the Rhine . . .	281
A. D. 364. Death of Jovian . . .	246	A. D. 371. The Burgundians . . .	282
Vacancy of the throne . . .	247	The Saxons . . .	284
Election and character of Valentinian . . .	248	II. BRITAIN. The Scots and Picts . . .	288
A. D. 364. He is acknowledged by the army . . .	249	A. D. 343—366. Their invasion of Britain . . .	291
A. D. 364. And associates his brother Valens . . .	251	A. D. 367—370. Restoration of Britain by Theodosius . . .	293
A. D. 364. The final division of the eastern and western empires . . .	ib.	A. D. 366, etc. III. AFRICA. Tyranny of Romanus . . .	295
A. D. 365. Revolt of Procopius . . .	253	A. D. 372. Revolt of Firmus . . .	297
A. D. 366. His defeat and death . . .	257	A. D. 373. Theodosius recovers Africa . . .	298
A. D. 373. Severe inquisition into the crime of magic at Rome and Antioch . . .	259	A. D. 376. He is executed at Carthage . . .	300
A. D. 364—375. The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens . . .	262	State of Africa . . .	ib.
Their laws and government . . .	264	A. D. 365—378. IV. THE EAST. The Persian war . . .	302
A. D. 364—375. Valentinian maintains the religious toleration . . .	267	A. D. 384. The treaty of peace . . .	306
A. D. 367—378. Valens professes Arianism, and persecutes the catholics . . .	268	Adventures of Para, king of Armenia . . .	ib.
A. D. 373. Death of Athanasius . . .	270	V. THE DANUBE. Conquests of Hermanric . . .	308
Just idea of his persecution . . .	271	A. D. 366. The cause of the Gothic war . . .	310
A. D. 370. Valentinian restrains the avarice of the clergy . . .	273	A. D. 367, 368, 369. Hostilities, and peace . . .	312
A. D. 366—384. Ambition and luxury of Damasus, bishop of Rome . . .	275	A. D. 374. War of the Quadi and Sarmatians . . .	314
A. D. 364—375. Foreign wars . . .	277	A. D. 375. Expedition of Valentinian . . .	317
		His death . . .	319
		The emperors Gratian and Valentinian the second . . .	ib.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MANNERS OF THE PASTORAL NATIONS.—PROGRESS OF THE HUNS FROM CHINA TO EUROPE.—FLIGHT OF THE GOTHs.—THEY PASS THE DANUBE.—GOTHIC WAR.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VALENS.—GRATIAN INVESTS THEODOSIUS WITH THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—HIS CHARACTER AND SUCCESS.—PEACE AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GOTHs.

A. D. 365. Earthquakes . . .	322	Victory of Gratian over the Ale-	
A. D. 376. The Huns and Goths	324	manni . . .	367
The pastoral manners of the Scy-		A. D. 378. Valens marches against	
thians, or Tartars . . .	ib.	the Goths . . .	370
Diet . . .	326	A. D. 378. Battle of Hadriano-	
Habitations . . .	328	ple . . .	373
Exercises . . .	330	The defeat of the Romans . .	374
Government . . .	332	Death of the emperor Valens .	ib.
Situation and extent of Scythia,		Funeral oration of Valens and his	
or Tartary . . .	334	army . . .	375
Original seat of the Huns . .	337	The Goths besiege Hadrianople	377
Their conquests in Scythia . .	338	A. D. 378, 379. They ravage the	
B. C. 201. Their wars with the		Roman provinces . . .	379
Chinese . . .	339	A. D. 378. Massacre of the Go-	
Decline and fall of the Huns .	341	thic youth in Asia . . .	380
A. D. 100, etc. Their emigrations	343	A. D. 379. The emperor Gratian	
The white Huns of Sogdiana .	344	invests Theodosius with the	
The Huns of the Volga . . .	345	empire of the east . . .	382
Their conquest of the Alani . .	346	Birth and character of Theodo-	
A. D. 375. Their victories over the		sius . . .	383
Goths . . .	348	A. D. 379—382. His prudent and	
A. D. 376. The Goths implore		successful conduct of the Go-	
the protection of Valens . .	351	thic war . . .	386
They are transported over the Dan-		A. D. 379—382. Divisions, de-	
ube into the Roman empire . .	354	feat, and submission of the	
Their distress and discontent .	356	Goths . . .	389
Revolt of the Goths in Mæsia,		A. D. 381. Death and funeral of	
and their first victories . .	358	Athanaric . . .	391
They penetrate into Thrace . .	361	A. D. 386. Invasion and defeat of	
A. D. 377. Operations of the Go-		the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths	392
thic war . . .	363	A. D. 383—395. Settlement of the	
Union of the Goths with the Huns,		Goths in Thrace and Asia . .	395
Alani, etc.	366	Their hostile settlements . .	397

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEATH OF GRATIAN.—RUIN OF ARIANISM.—ST. AMBROSE.—FIRST CIVIL WAR, AGAINST MAXIMUS.—CHARACTER, ADMINISTRATION, AND Penance OF THEODOSIUS.—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN THE SECOND.—SECOND CIVIL WAR, AGAINST EUGENIUS.—DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

A. D. 379—383. Character and		A. D. 380. Ruin of Arianism at	
conduct of the emperor Gra-		Constantinople . . .	415
tian . . .	400	A. D. 381. In the east . . .	417
His defects . . .	ib.	A. D. 381. The council of Con-	
A. D. 383. Discontent of the Ro-		stantinople . . .	418
man troops . . .	402	A. D. 381. Retreat of Gregory	
Revolt of Maximus in Britain .	404	Nazianzen . . .	420
Flight and death of Gratian . .	405	Edicts of Theodosius against the	
A. D. 383—387. Treaty of peace		heretics . . .	421
between Maximus and Theo-		A. D. 385. Execution of Priscillian	
dosius . . .	407	and his associates . . .	424
A. D. 380. Baptism and orthodox		A. D. 374—397. Ambrose, arch-	
edicts of Theodosius . . .	409	bishop of Milan . . .	427
A. D. 340—380. Arianism of Con-		A. D. 385. His successful opposi-	
stantinople . . .	411	tion to the empress Justina .	428
Gregory Nazianzen . . .	412	A. D. 387. Maximus invades	
A. D. 378. Accepts the mission		Italy . . .	434
of Constantinople . . .	414	Flight of Valentinian . . .	435

CONTENTS.

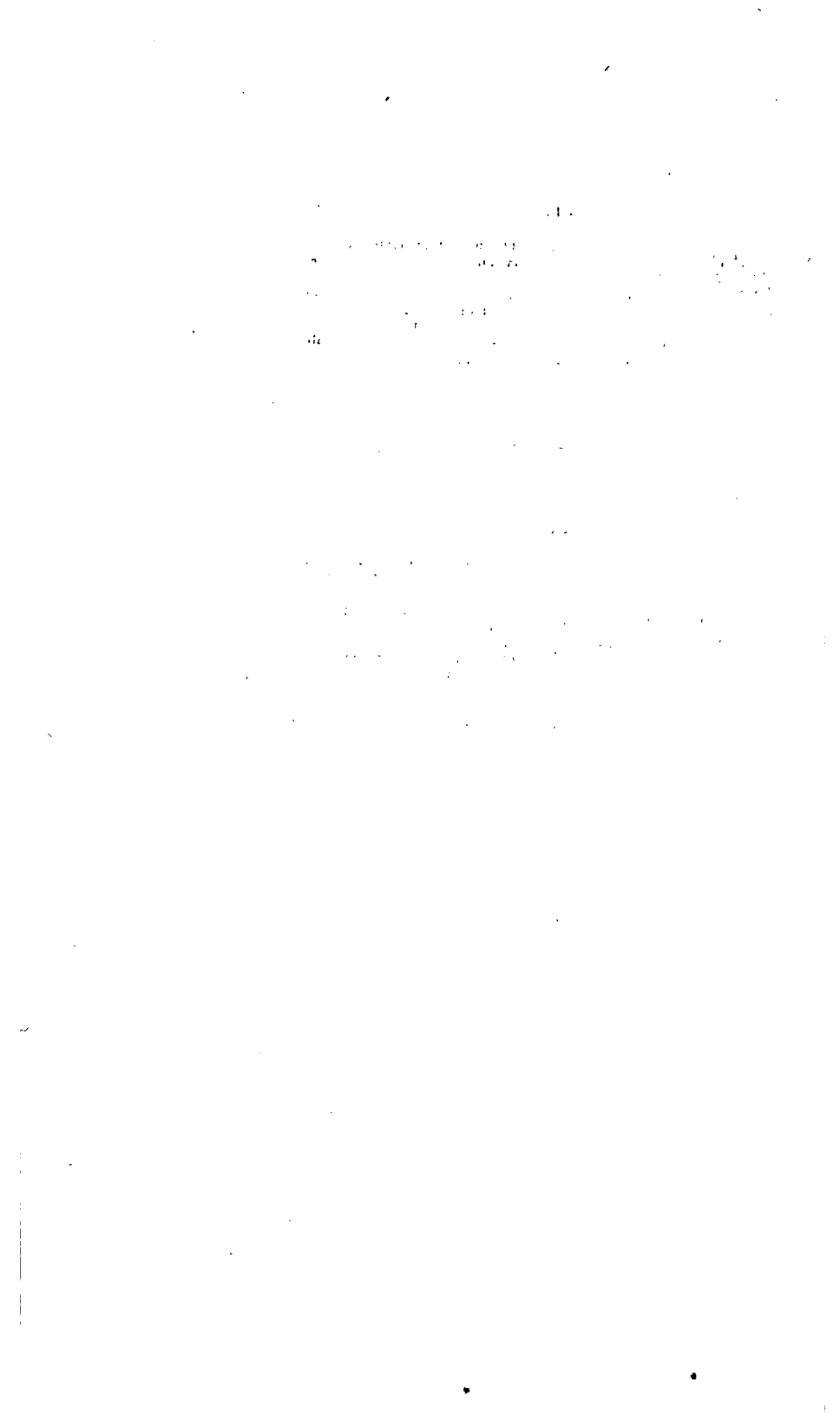
ix

A. D. 387. Theodosius takes arms in the cause of Valentinian	436	A. D. 388—391. Generosity of Theodosius	453
A. D. 388. Defeat and death of Maximus	438	A. D. 391. Character of Valen- tinian	454
Viruses of Theodosius	440	A. D. 392. His death	456
Faults of Theodosius	442	A. D. 392—394. Usurpation of Eugenius	ib.
A. D. 387. The sedition of An- tioch	443	Theodosius prepares for war	458
Clemency of Theodosius	446	A. D. 394. His victory over Eu- genius	459
A. D. 390. Sedition and massacre of Thessalonica	447	A. D. 395. Death of Theodo- sius	462
A. D. 388. Influence and conduct of Ambrose	449	Corruption of the times	463
A. D. 390. Penance of Theodo- sius	450	The infantry lay aside their ar- mour	465

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF PAGANISM.—INTRODUCTION OF THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS AND RELICS AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

A. D. 378—395. The destruction of the pagan religion	467	A. D. 390. The pagan religion is prohibited	485
State of paganism at Rome	468	Oppressed	486
A. D. 384. Petition of the senate for the altar of Victory	470	A. D. 390—420, etc. And finally extinguished	488
A. D. 388, etc. Conversion of Rome	473	Worship of the christian martyrs	490
A. D. 381, etc. Destruction of the temples in the provinces	475	General reflections	493
The temple of Serapis at Alex- andria	479	I. Fabulous martyrs and relics	ib.
A. D. 389. Its final destruction	481	II. Miracles	ib.
		III. Revival of polytheism	495
		IV. Introduction of pagan cere- monies	496



THE HISTORY
OF
THE DECLINE AND FALL
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXI.

PERSECUTION OF HERESY.—THE SCHISM OF THE DONATISTS.—THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.—ATHANASIUS.—DISTRACTED STATE OF THE CHURCH AND EMPIRE UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS.—TOLERATION OF PAGANISM.

THE grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honours, and revenge: and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world, the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the catholic church, were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of christianity. Constantine easily believed that the heretics, who presumed to dispute *his* opinions, or to oppose *his* commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a

CHAP.
XXI.

seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the east was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction^a. After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the catholic church. The sects against whom the imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of oriental and christian theology^b. The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress of these odious heretics, was prosecuted with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression, and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the

^a Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

^b After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beausobre, Lardner, etc. I am convinced that Manes did not propagate his sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange, that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius, Annal. Eccl. A. D. 287.

Manichæans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate enquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was intrusted to a civil magistrate, whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed, and of whose venal character he was probably ignorant^c. The emperor was soon convinced that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians; who had dissented from the church in some articles of discipline which were not perhaps essential to salvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law^d; allowed them to build a church at Constantinople, respected the miracles of their saints, invited their bishop Acesius to the council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest; which, from the mouth of a sovereign, must have been received with applause and gratitude^e.

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine, as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned, with surprise, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord^f. The source of the division was derived from a

African
controversy.
A. D. 312.

^c Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, etc. Ammian. xv. 15. Strategius, who from this commission obtained the surname of *Musonianus*, was a christian of the Arian sect. He acted as one of the counts at the council of Sardica. Libanius praises his mildness and prudence. Vales. ad locum Ammian.

^d Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Theodosian Code, it is probable that, in the year 438. the sects which it had condemned were already extinct.

^e Sozomen, l. i. c. 22; Socrates, l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take a ladder, and get up to heaven by yourself." Most of the christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Acesius.

^f The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history may be found in the edition of Optatus Milevitanus, published (Paris, 1700.) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical discussions, original records, and an accurate abridgement of the whole controversy. M. de

double election in the church of Carthage; the second, in rank and opulence, of the ecclesiastical thrones of the west. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for Donatus, who, by his superior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmest support of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination, was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent haste, with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian, and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters; and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings which are imputed to this Numidian council^s. The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardour and obstinacy, that their adversaries were degraded, or at least dishonoured, by the odious crime of delivering the holy scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred, that the late persecution had imbittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African christians. That divided church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature; the controversy was solemnly tried in five successive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition, which was taken by the pretorian

Tillemont has bestowed on the Donatists the greatest part of a volume, tom. vi. part i: and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the passages of his favourite St. Augustin, which relate to those heretics.

^s Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutrit; avaritia roboravit. Optatus, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman. Dicitur te necasse filios sororis tuæ duos. Purpurius respondit: Putas me terreri a te . . . occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt. Acta Concil. Cirtensis, ad calc. Optat. p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Purpurius said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands; and we will break his head by way of penance." Optat. l. i. c. 19.

vicar, and the proconsul of Africa, the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the supreme judgement of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory, were all favourable to the cause of Cæcilian; and he was unanimously acknowledged by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honours and estates of the church were attributed to *his* suffragan bishops; and it was not without difficulty that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. As their cause was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious arts of his favourite Osius. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an importunate dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

But this incident, so inconsiderable that it scarcely deserves a place in history, was productive of a memorable schism; which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with christianity itself. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers, whose election they disputed, and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind, who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the apostolical succession was interrupted; that *all* the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism;

Schism of
the Dona-
tists.
A. D. 315.

and that the prerogatives of the catholic church were confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proselyte, even from the distant provinces of the east, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism^b and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants, were subjected to the disgrace of a public penance, before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatists. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions^c. Notwithstanding this irreconcilable aversion, the two parties, who were mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Proscribed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the sect sometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatical church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Do-

^b The councils of Arles, of Nice, and of Trent, confirmed the wise and moderate practice of the church of Rome. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of maintaining the sentiment of Cyprian, and of a considerable part of the primitive church. Vincentius Lirinensis (p. 332. ap. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 138,) has explained why the Donatists are eternally burning with the devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jesus Christ.

^c See the sixth book of Optatus Milevitanus, p. 91—100.

natist bishops followed the independent standard of the Maximianists. The narrow and solitary path which their first leaders had marked out, continued to deviate from the great society of mankind. Even the imperceptible sect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a blush, that when Christ should descend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Cæsarean Mauritania^k.

CHAP.
XXI.

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa: the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument, derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary; and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The Trinitarian controversy.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt^l, had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent, necessary cause of the universe, the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and succes-

The system of Plato, Before Christ 360.

^k Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. vi. part i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial cruelty. He revered Augustin, the great doctor of the system of predestination.

^l Plato *Ægyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus barbaris numeros et *caelestia* acciperet.* Cicero de *Finibus*, v. 25. The Egyptians might still preserve the traditional creed of the patriarchs. Josephus has persuaded many of the christian fathers, that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obscure state and unsocial manners of the jewish people, whose scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marsham, *Canon. Chron.* p. 144; Le Clerc, *Epistol. Critic.* vii. p. 177—194.

CHAP.
XXI.

The Logos

taught in
the school
of Alexan-
dria.
Before
Christ 300.

sive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; *how* a being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification; of the first cause, the reason or *Logos*, and the soul or spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three *archical* or original principles were represented in the Platonic system as three gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the son of an Eternal Father, and the creator and governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the academy; and which, according to the more recent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood, till after an assiduous study of thirty years^m.

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological system of Plato was taught with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alexandriaⁿ. A numerous colony of jews had been invited, by the favour of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital^o. While the bulk of the nation practised the legal ceremonies, and pursued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews, of a more liberal spirit, devoted their lives

^m The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic system are, Cudworth, *Intellectual System*, p. 568—620; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. iv. c. 4. p. 53—86; Le Clerc, *Epist. Crit.* vii. p. 194—209; and Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. p. 675—706. As the learning of these writers was equal, and their intention different, an inquisitive observer may derive instruction from their disputes, and certainty from their agreement.

ⁿ Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. p. 1349—1357. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo, l. xvii. and Ammianus, xxii. 6.

^o Joseph. *Antiquitat.* l. xii. c. 1. 3; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 7.

to religious and philosophical contemplation^p. They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardour, the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty: and they boldly marked, as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors, the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian masters. One hundred years before the birth of Christ, a philosophical treatise, which manifestly betrays the style and sentiments of the school of Plato, was produced by the Alexandrian jews, and unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired wisdom of Solomon^q. A similar union of the Mosaic faith, and the Grecian philosophy, distinguishes the works of Philo, which were composed, for the most part, under the reign of Augustus^r. The material soul of the universe^s might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the Logos to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a visible, and even human appearance, to perform those familiar offices which seem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the universal cause^t.

CHAP.
XXI.

Before
Christ 100.

^p For the origin of the jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* viii. 9, 10. According to Philo, the *Therapeutæ* studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved, (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. ii. p. 787.) that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

^q See Calmet, *Dissertations sur la Bible*, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and although rejected by the protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the Vulgate, the sanction of the council of Trent.

^r The Platonism of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc, *Epist. Crit.* viii. p. 211—228. Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, l. iv. c. 5.) has clearly ascertained, that the theological works of Philo were composed before the death, and most probably before the birth, of Christ. In such a time of darkness, the knowledge of Philo is more astonishing than his errors. Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* s. i. c. 1. p. 12.

^s *Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*

Besides this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562.) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a superior, spiritual, *upercosmian* soul of the universe. But this double soul is exploded by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the latter Platonists.

^t Petav. *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. ii. l. viii. c. 2. p. 791; Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* s. i. c. 1. p. 8. 13. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was freely adopted in the christian theology. Tertullian (*adv.*

CHAP.
XXI.

Revealed
by the apos-
tle St. John.
A.D. 97.

The Ebion-
ites and
Docetes.

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the jews and Greeks, were insufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine, which might please, but could not satisfy a rational mind. A prophet, or apostle, inspired by the Deity, can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been for ever confounded with the philosophical visions of the academy, the porch, and the lycæum, if the name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the evangelists^u. The christian revelation, which was consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world the amazing secret, that the *Logos*, who was with God from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine honours of Christ, the most ancient and respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have ascribed to the evangelic theologian, a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies, which disturbed the peace of the primitive church^v. I. The faith of the Ebionites^v, perhaps of the Nazarenes^z, was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest

Praxeas, c. 16.) has a remarkable and dangerous passage. After contrasting, with indiscreet wit, the nature of God, and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: *Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuisset, si non scripta essent; fortasse non credenda de Patre licet scripta.*

^u The Platonists admired the beginning of the gospel of St. John, as containing an exact transcript of their own principles. *Augustin. de Civitat. Dei*, x. 29; *Amelius apud Cyril. advers. Julian. l. viii. p. 283.* But in the third and fourth centuries, the Platonists of Alexandria might improve their Trinity by the secret study of the christian theology.

^x See Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 377. The gospel according to St. John is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ.

^y The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Mosheim, (p. 331.) and Le Clerc, (*Hist. Ecclési.* p. 535.) The Clementines, published among the apostolical fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of these sectaries.

^z Staunch poleemics, like Bull, (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol. c. 2.*) insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes; which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Mosheim, p. 330.

of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of the promised Messiah^a. Some of them might confess that he was born of a virgin; but they obstinately rejected the preceding existence and divine perfections of the *Logos*, or Son of God, which are so clearly defined in the gospel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whose errors are mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve^b, formed a very inconsiderable portion of the christian name. II. The Gnostics, who were distinguished by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme; and betrayed the human, while they asserted the divine, nature of Christ. Educated in the school of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brightest *æon*, or *emanation* of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal^c; but they vainly pretended, that the imperfections of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance. While the blood of Christ yet smoked on mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypothesis, that, instead of issuing from the womb of the virgin^d, he had descended on the banks of the Jordan

^a The humble condition and sufferings of Jesus have always been a stumbling-block to the jews. "Deus . . . contrariis coloribus Messiam depinxerat; futurus erat rex, judex, pastor," etc. See Limborch et Orobio, *Amica Collat.* p. 8. 19. 53—76. 192—234. But this objection has obliged the believing christians to lift up their eyes to a spiritual and everlasting kingdom.

^b Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphonte*, p. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 615. Bull, and his editor Grabe, (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol.* c. 7. and Appendix,) attempt to distort either the sentiments or the words of Justin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.

^c The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. iii. c. 5. 7.

^d Non dignum est ex utero credere Deum, et Deum Christum . . . non dignum est ut tanta majestas per sordes et squalores mulieris transire credatur. The Gnostics asserted the impurity of matter, and of marriage; and they were scandalized by the gross interpretations of the fathers, and even of Augustin himself. See Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 523.

CHAP.
XXI.Mysterious
nature of
the Trinity.

in the form of perfect manhood; that he had imposed on the senses of his enemies, and of his disciples; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom, who *seemed* to expire on the cross, and, after three days, to rise from the dead*.

The divine sanction which the apostle had bestowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato, encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage, who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of the christian revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox^f, and abused by the heretics^g, as the common support of truth and error: the authority of his skilful commentators, and the science of dialectics, were employed to justify the remote consequences of his opinions; and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers. The same subtile and profound questions concerning the nature, the generation, the distinction, and the equality of the three divine persons of the mysterious *Triad*, or Trinity^h, were agitated in the philosophical and in the christian schools of Alexandria. An eager spirit of curiosity urged them to explore the secrets of the abyss; and the pride of the

* Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitibus apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, et *phantasma* corpus Domini asserebatur. Cotelerius thinks, (*Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 24.) that those who will not allow the *Docetes* to have arisen in the times of the apostles, may with equal reason deny that the sun shines at noon-day. These *Docetes*, who formed the most considerable party among the Gnostics, were so called, because they granted only a *seeming* body to Christ.

^f Some proofs of the respect which the christians entertained for the person and doctrine of Plato, may be found in De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. v. p. 135, etc. edit. 1757; and Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. iv. p. 29. 79, etc.

^g Doleo bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. Tertullian. de Anima, c. 23. Petavius (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. iii. proleg. 2.) shows that this was a general complaint. Beausobre (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10.) has deduced the Gnostic errors from Platonic principles; and as, in the school of Alexandria, those principles were blended with the oriental philosophy, (Brucker, tom. i. p. 1356.) the sentiment of Beausobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Mosheim, *General History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 37.

^h If Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, (see Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. i. p. 66.) was the first who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abstract term, which was already familiar to the schools of philosophy, must have been introduced into the theology of the christians after the middle of the second century.

professors, and of their disciples, was satisfied with the science of words. But the most sagacious of the christian theologians, the great Athanasius himself, has candidly confessedⁱ, that whenever he forced his understanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilsome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themselves; that the more he thought, the less he comprehended; and the more he wrote, the less capable was he of expressing his thoughts. In every step of the enquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the immeasurable disproportion between the size of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may strive to abstract the notions of time, of space, and of matter, which so closely adhere to all the perceptions of our experimental knowledge. But as soon as we presume to reason of infinite substance, of spiritual generation; as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea, we are involved in darkness, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As these difficulties arise from the nature of the subject, they oppress, with the same insuperable weight, the philosophic and the theological disputant; but we may observe two essential and peculiar circumstances, which discriminated the doctrines of the catholic church from the opinions of the Platonic school.

I. A chosen society of philosophers, men of a liberal education and curious disposition, might silently meditate, and temperately discuss, in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria, the abstruse questions of metaphysical science. The lofty speculations, which neither convinced the understanding, nor agitated the passions, of the Platonists themselves, were carelessly overlooked by the idle, the busy, and even the studious part of mankind^k. But after the *Logos* had been re-

Zeal of the
christians.

ⁱ Athanasius, tom. i. p. 808. His expressions have an uncommon energy; and as he was writing to monks, there could not be any occasion for him to affect a rational language.

^k In a treatise which professed to explain the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the nature of the gods, we might expect to discover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honestly confessed, that

vealed as the sacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worship of the christians; the mysterious system was embraced by a numerous and increasing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Those persons who, from their age, or sex, or occupations, were the least qualified to judge, who were the least exercised in the habits of abstract reasoning, aspired to contemplate the economy of the Divine Nature: and it is the boast of Tertullian¹, that a christian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of the Grecian sages. Where the subject lies so far beyond our reach, the difference between the highest and the lowest of human understandings may indeed be calculated as infinitely small; yet the degree of weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence. These speculations, instead of being treated as the amusement of a vacant hour, became the most serious business of the present, and the most useful preparation for a future life. A theology which it was incumbent to believe, which it was impious to doubt, and which it might be dangerous and even fatal to mistake, became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular discourse. The cold indifference of philosophy was inflamed by the fervent spirit of devotion; and even the metaphors of common language suggested the fallacious prejudices of sense and experience. The christians, who abhorred the gross and impure generation of the Greek mythology^m, were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of *Son* seemed to imply a perpetual subordination to the voluntary author of his

though he had translated the Timæus, he could never understand that mysterious dialogue. See Hieronym. præf. ad l. xii. in Isaiam, tom. v. p. 154.

¹ Tertullian. in Apolog. c. 46. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, au mot *Simonde*. His remarks on the presumption of Tertullian are profound and interesting.

^m Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *probole*, or *prolatio*, which the most orthodox divines borrowed without scruple from the Valentinians, and illustrated by the comparisons of a fountain and stream, the sun and its rays, etc. either meant nothing, or favoured a material idea of the divine generation. See Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 7. p. 548.

existence^a; but as the act of generation, in the most spiritual and abstracted sense, must be supposed to transmit the properties of a common nature^b, they durst not presume to circumscribe the powers or the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourscore years after the death of Christ, the christians of Bithynia declared before the tribunal of Pliny, that they invoked him as a god: and his divine honours have been perpetuated in every age and country, by the various sects who assume the name of his disciples^c. Their tender reverence for the memory of Christ, and their horror for the profane worship of any created being, would have engaged them to assert the equal and absolute divinity of the *Logos*, if their rapid ascent towards the throne of heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehension of violating the unity and sole supremacy of the great Father of Christ and of the universe. The suspense and fluctuation produced in the minds of the christians by these opposite tendencies, may be observed in the writings of the theologians who flourished after the end of the apostolic age, and before the origin of the Arian controversy. Their suffrage is claimed, with equal confidence, by the orthodox and by the heretical parties; and the most inquisitive critics have fairly allowed, that if they had the good fortune of possessing the catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in loose, inaccurate, and sometimes contradictory language^d.

^a Many of the primitive writers have frankly confessed, that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's Scripture Trinity, p. 280—287. On the other hand, Athanasius and his followers seem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The schoolmen extricate themselves from this difficulty by the distinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8. p. 587—603.

^b See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10. p. 159.

^c *Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem.* Plin. Epist. x. 97. The sense of *Deus*, Θεός, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages, is critically examined by Le Clerc, (*Ars Critica*, p. 150—156.) and the propriety of worshipping a very excellent creature, is ably defended by the Socinian Emllyn, *Tracts*, p. 29—36. 51—145.

^d See Daillé de *Usu Patrum*, and Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the ante-Nicene fathers, was the object, or at least has been the effect of the stupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity, (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii.) nor has the deep impression been erased by the learned defence of bishop Bull.

CHAP.
XXI.Authority of
the church.

II. The devotion of individuals was the first circumstance which distinguished the christians from the Platonists: the second was the authority of the church. The disciples of philosophy asserted the rights of intellectual freedom; and their respect for the sentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute, which they offered to superior reason. But the christians formed a numerous and disciplined society; and the jurisdiction of their laws and magistrates was strictly exercised over the minds of the faithful. The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually confined by creeds and confessions^r; the freedom of private judgement submitted to the public wisdom of synods; the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank; and the episcopal successors of the apostles inflicted the censures of the church on those who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controversy, every act of oppression adds new force to the elastic vigour of the mind; and the zeal or obstinacy of a spiritual rebel was sometimes stimulated by secret motives of ambition or avarice. A metaphysical argument became the cause or pretence of political contests; the subtilties of the Platonic school were used as the badges of popular factions, and the distance which separated their respective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of dispute. As long as the dark heresies of Praxeas and Sabellius laboured to confound the *Father* with the *Son*^s, the orthodox party might be excused if they adhered more strictly and more earnestly to the *distinction*, than to the *equality* of the divine persons. But as soon as the heat of controversy had subsided, and the progress of the Sabellians was no longer an object of terror to the churches of Rome, of Africa, or of Egypt; the tide of

Factions.

^r The most ancient creeds were drawn up with the greatest latitude. See Bull, (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol.*) who tries to prevent Episcopus from deriving any advantage from this observation.

^s The heresies of Praxeas, Sabellius, etc. are accurately explained by Mosheim, p. 425. 680—714. Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the second century, deceived, for some time, the simplicity of the bishop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian.

theological opinion began to flow with a gentle but steady motion toward the contrary extreme; and the most orthodox doctors allowed themselves the use of the terms and definitions which had been censured in the mouth of the sectaries[†]. After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived in the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the east. The abstruse question of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in ecclesiastic conferences and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius[‡] were soon made public by his own zeal, and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of that eminent presbyter; who, in a former election, had declared, and perhaps generously declined, his pretensions to the episcopal throne[§]. His competitor Alexander assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence, as an absolute rule of faith[¶]. The undaunted presbyter who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop, was separated from the communion of the church. But the pride of

[†] Socrates acknowledges, that the heresy of Arius proceeded from his strong desire to embrace an opinion the most diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius.

[‡] The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his first proselytes, are painted in very lively colours by Epiphanius (tom. i. Hæres. lxi. 3. p. 729.); and we cannot but regret, that he should soon forget the historian, to assume the task of controversy.

[§] See Philostorgius (l. i. c. 3.) and Godefroy's ample Commentary. Yet the credibility of Philostorgius is lessened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianism; and in those of rational critics by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

[¶] Sozomen (l. i. c. 15.) represents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controversy; while Socrates (l. i. c. 5.) ascribes the origin of the dispute to the vain curiosity of his theological speculations. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 178.) has censured, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander: *πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξαπτάται . . . ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἐκέλευσε.*

CHAP.
XXI.

Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almost incredible) seven hundred virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or favour his cause; and their measures were conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the most learned of the christian prelates; and by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman without forfeiting that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years^a, was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice.

A.D.
318—325.Three sys-
tems of the
Trinity.

Arianism.

When the mysteries of the christian faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed, that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct though imperfect systems concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity; and it was pronounced, that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error^a. I. According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made^b, had been begotten before all worlds; and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the

^a The flames of Arianism might burn for some time in secret; but there is reason to believe that they burst out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 774—780.

^a Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos esse credidit, et idololatra effectus est; *aut* in tribus vocabulis triuominem credens Deum, in Sabellii hæresin incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum Patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum credidit creaturas. *Aut* extra hæc quid credere potuerit nescio. Hieronym. *adv. Luciferianos*. Jerome reserves for the last the orthodox system, which is more complicated and difficult.

^b As the doctrine of absolute creation from nothing was gradually introduced among the christians (Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 165—215.) the dignity of the *workman* very naturally rose with that of the *work*.

extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite^c, and there *had* been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels: yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors, who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus^d, he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. II. In the second hypothesis, the *Logos* possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three coequal and co-eternal beings, composed the Divine Essence^e; and it would have implied contradiction, that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist^f. The advocates of a system which seemed to establish three independent Deities, attempted to preserve the unity of the first cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their administration, and the essential agreement of their will. A faint resemblance of this unity of action may be discovered in the societies of men, and even of animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties: but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness, cannot fail of choosing

Tritheism.

^c The metaphysics of Dr. Clarke (Scripture Trinity, p. 276—280.) could digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause.

^d This profane and absurd simile is employed by several of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his Apology to the emperor Marcus and his son; and it is alleged, without censure, by Bull himself. See Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. iii. c. 5. N^o. 4.

^e See Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 559. 579. This dangerous hypothesis was countenanced by the two Gregories, of Nyssa and Nazianzen, by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, etc. See Cudworth, p. 603; Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 97—105.

^f Augustin seems to envy the freedom of the philosophers. Liberis verbis loquuntur philosophi Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos. De Civitat. Dei, x. 23.

CHAP.
XXI.

Sabel-
lianism.

the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends. III. Three Beings, who, by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in space, and intimately present to each other, and to the whole universe; irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind, as one and the same Being^g, who, in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of names, and abstract modifications, that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense, that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by *which*, not by *whom*, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inspiration of the divine wisdom, which filled the soul, and directed all the actions, of the man Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are surprised to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun; and that the incomprehensible mystery which excites our adoration, eludes our enquiry^h.

Council of
Nice.
A. D. 325.

If the bishops of the council of Niceⁱ had been permitted to follow the unbiassed dictates of their conscience, Arius and his associates could scarcely have

^g Boetius, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, explains the unity of the Trinity by the *indifference* of the three persons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. xvi. p. 225, etc.

^h If the Sabellians were startled at this conclusion, they were driven down another precipice into the confession, that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had suffered on the cross; and thus deserved the odious epithet of *Patri-passians*, with which they were branded by their adversaries. See the invectives of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the temperate reflections of Mosheim, p. 423. 681; and Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 6. p. 533.

ⁱ The transactions of the council of Nice are related by the ancients, not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect manner. Such a picture as Fra. Paolo would have drawn, can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry, and that of reason, may be seen in Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. vi. p. 669—759. and in Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. x. p. 435—454.

flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining a majority of votes in favour of an hypothesis so directly adverse to the two most popular opinions of the catholic world. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their situation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues which, in the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practised, or even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of christian charity and moderation; urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy; disclaimed the use of any terms or definitions which could not be found in the scriptures; and offered, by very liberal concessions, to satisfy their adversaries, without renouncing the integrity of their own principles. The victorious faction received all their proposals with haughty suspicion; and anxiously sought for some irreconcilable mark of distinction, the rejection of which might involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of heresy. A letter was publicly read, and ignominiously torn, in which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously confessed, that the admission of the *homoousion*, or consubstantial, a word already familiar to the Platonists, was incompatible with the principles of their theological system. The fortunate opportunity was eagerly embraced by the bishops, who governed the resolutions of the synod; and according to the lively expression of Ambrose^k, they used the sword, which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off the head of the hated monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the council of Nice, and has been unanimously received as a fundamental article of the christian faith, by the consent of the Greek, the Latin, the oriental, and the protestant churches. But if the same word had not served to stigmatize the heretics and to unite the catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpose of the ma-

The Homo-
ousion.

^k We are indebted to Ambrose (de Fide, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote. Hoc verbum posuerunt patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput heræseos amputarent.

majority, by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, distinguished by a contrary tendency to the sentiments of the Tritheists and of the Sabellians. But as those opposite extremes seemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural or revealed religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigour of their principles; and to disavow the just but invidious consequences which might be urged by their antagonists. The interest of the common cause inclined them to join their numbers, and to conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing counsels of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious *homooousion*, which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets. The Sabellian sense, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the council of Antioch¹ to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to those theologians who entertained a secret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more fashionable saints of the Arian times, the intrepid Athanasius, the learned Gregory Nazianzen, and the other pillars of the church who supported with ability and success the Nicene doctrine, appeared to consider the expression of *substance*, as if it had been synonymous with that of *nature*; and they ventured to illustrate their meaning by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial or homooousian to each other^m. This pure and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connection, and the spiritual penetration, which indissolubly unites the divine personsⁿ; and

¹ See Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. ii. c. i. p. 25—36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox synods.

^m According to Aristotle, the stars were homooousian to each other. "That *homooousius* means of one substance in *kind*, hath been shown by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, etc. and to prove it, would be *actum agere*." This is the just remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212.) who examines the Arian controversy with learning, candour, and ingenuity.

ⁿ See Petavius, Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16. p. 453, etc.; Cudworth, p. 559; Bull, sect. iv. p. 285—290. edit. Grab. The *περιχώρησις*, or *circumincensio*, is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

on the other, by the preeminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son°. Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the demons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy wanderer. But as the degrees of theological hatred depend on the spirit of the war, rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics who degraded, were treated with more severity than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcilable opposition to the impious *madness* of the Arians^p; but he defended above twenty years the Sabellianism of Marcellus of Ancyra; and when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention, with an ambiguous smile, the venial errors of his respectable friend^q.

The authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *homoousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The consubstantialists, who by their success have deserved and obtained the title of catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their own creed, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The

° The third section of Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith, which some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.

^p The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians, was that of *Ariomanites*.

^q Epiphanius, tom. i. Hæres. lxxii. 4. p. 837. See the adventures of Marcellus, in Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 880—899. His work, in one book, of the unity of God, was answered in the three books, which are still extant, of Eusebius. After a long and careful examination, Petavius (tom. ii. l. i. c. 14. p. 78.) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

CHAP.
XXI.

sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the counsels of a theological faction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion^r, and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary^s, who, from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the oriental clergy, declares, that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia, to which he had been banished, there could be found very few prelates who had preserved the knowledge of the true God^t. The oppression which he had felt, the disorders of which he was the spectator and the victim, appeased, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the bishop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the style of a christian philosopher. "It is a thing," says Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. The homousion is rejected, and received, and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son, is a subject of dispute for these

^r Athanasius, in his epistle concerning the synods of Seleucia and Rimini, (tom. i. p. 886—905.) has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labours of the indefatigable Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 477.

^s Erasmus, with admirable sense and freedom, has delineated the just character of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct, is the province of the Benedictine editors.

^t Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex majore parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas consisto, vere Deum nesciunt. Atque utinam penitus nescirent! cum proclivore enim venia ignorarent quam obtrectarent. Hilar. de Synodis, sive de Fide Orientalium, c. 63. p. 1186. edit. Benedicti. In the celebrated parallel between atheism and superstition, the bishop of Poitiers would have been surprised in the philosophic society of Bayle and Plutarch.

unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematise those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin^u."

It will not be expected, it would not perhaps be endured, that I should swell this theological digression by a minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for the most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amusing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the vegetation, of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers, and of branches without fruit, would soon exhaust the patience, and disappoint the curiosity, of the laborious student. One question which gradually arose from the Arian controversy, may however be noticed, as it served to produce and discriminate the three sects, who were united only by their common aversion to the homoousion of the Nicene synod. 1. If they were asked whether the Son was *like* unto the Father, the question was resolutely answered in the negative, by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, or indeed to those of philosophy; which seem to establish an infinite difference between the Creator and the most excellent of his creatures. This obvious consequence was maintained by Ætius^x, on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the surname of the atheist. His restless and aspiring spirit urged him to try almost every profession of human life. He was successively a slave, or at least

Arian sects.

^u Hilarius ad Constantium, l. ii. c. 4, 5. p. 1227, 1228. This remarkable passage deserved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has transcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470.) into the model of his new common-place book.

^x In Philostorgius (l. iii. c. 15.) the character and adventures of Ætius appear singular enough, though they are carefully softened by the hand of a friend. The editor Godefroy, (p. 153.) who was more attached to his principles than to his author, has collected the odious circumstances which his various adversaries have preserved or invented.

a husbandman, a travelling tinker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, and at last the apostle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his disciple Eunomius¹. Armed with texts of scripture, and with captious syllogisms from the logic of Aristotle, the subtle Ætius had acquired the fame of an invincible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or to convince. Such talents engaged the friendship of the Arian bishops, till they were forced to renounce, and even to persecute, a dangerous ally, who, by the accuracy of his reasoning, had prejudiced their cause in the popular opinion, and offended the piety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the *likeness* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly receive what reason could not presume to deny, that the Supreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being similar only to himself². These Arians were powerfully supported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had succeeded to the management of the Eusebian interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the east. They detested, perhaps with some affectation, the impiety of Ætius; they professed to believe, either without reserve, or according to the scriptures, that the Son was different from all *other* creatures, and similar only to the Father. But they denied that he was either of the same, or of a similar substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct, notion of the nature of the Deity.

¹ According to the judgement of a man who respected both those sectaries, Ætius had been endowed with a stronger understanding, and Eunomius had acquired more art and learning. Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 18. The confession and apology of Eunomius (Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. viii. p. 258—305.) is one of the few heretical pieces which have escaped.

² Yet, according to the opinion of Estius and Bull, (p. 297.) there is one power, that of creation, which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Estius, who so accurately defined the limits of omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a scholastic divine. Dupin, Biblioth. Ecclés. tom. xvii. p. 45.

3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance, was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the council of Seleucia^a, *their* opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three bishops. The Greek word which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance, bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homoousians and the Homoiousians. As it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other, accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the catholics themselves. The bishop of Poitiers, who in his Phrygian exile very wisely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavours to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation^b, the *homoiousion* may be reduced to a consubstantial sense. Yet he confesses that the word has a dark and suspicious aspect; and as if darkness were congenial to theological disputes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the church, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the venom of the Arian controversy. The familiar study of the Platonic system, a vain and argumentative disposition, a copious and flexible idiom,

Faith of the
western or
Latin
church.

^a Sabinus (ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 39.) had copied the acts, Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

^b *Fideli et pia intelligentia . . . De Synod. c. 77. p. 1193.* In his short apologetical notes, (first published by the Benedictines from a manuscript of Chartres,) he observes, that he used this cautious expression, *qui intelligerem et impiam*, p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philostorgius, who saw those objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important diphthong. See in particular viii. 17. and Godeffroy, p. 352.

CHAP.
XXI.

supplied the clergy and the people of the east with an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in the midst of their fierce contentions, they easily forgot the doubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the west were of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so forcibly moved by invisible objects; their minds were less frequently exercised by the habits of dispute; and such was the happy ignorance of the Gallican church, that Hilary himself, above thirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger to the Nicene creed^c. The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a translation. The poverty and stubbornness of their native tongue was not always capable of affording just equivalents for the Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonic philosophy^d, which had been consecrated by the gospel or by the church to express the mysteries of the christian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology, a long train of error or perplexity^e. But as the western provincials had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the homousion, by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four

Council of
Rimini.
A.D. 360.

^c Testor Deum cœli atque terræ me cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen utrumque sensisse . . . Regeneratus pridem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicenam nunquam nisi exsulaturus audiui. Hilar. de Synodis, c. xci. p. 1205. The Benedictines are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Poitiers several years before his exile.

^d Seneca (Epist. lviii.) complains that even the *τὸ ὄν* of the Platonists (the *ens* of the bolder schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin noun.

^e The preference which the fourth council of the Lateran at length gave to a *numerical* rather than a *generical* unity (See Petav. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13. p. 424.) was favoured by the Latin language; *τριάς* seems to excite the idea of substance, *τρίτης* of qualities.

hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared, that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though *they* affected to anathematise the name and memory of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the east. By their arguments and negociations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops; who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence. The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the homousion. It was on this occasion that, according to Jerome, the world was surprised to find itself Arian^f. But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses, than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence: and the homousian standard, which had been shaken but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the west^g.

Such was the rise and progress, and such were the natural revolutions, of those theological disputes which disturbed the peace of christianity under the reigns of Constantine and of his sons. But as those princes presumed to extend their despotism over the faith, as

Conduct of
the emper-
ors in the
Arian con-
troversy.

^f Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est. Hieronym. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 145.

^g The story of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus, (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 419—430. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647.) and by Jerome, in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of the latter is to apologise for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented.

CHAP. well as over the lives and fortunes of their subjects ;
 XXI. the weight of their suffrage sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance : and the prerogatives of the King of heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

Indifference of Constantine, A. D. 324. The unhappy spirit of discord which pervaded the provinces of the east, interrupted the triumph of Constantine ; but the emperor continued for some time to view, with cool and careless indifference, the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appeasing the quarrels of theologians, he addressed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, a moderating epistle^h ; which may be ascribed, with far greater reason, to the untutored sense of a soldier and statesman, than to the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controversy to a trifling and subtile question, concerning an incomprehensible point of the law, which was foolishly asked by the bishop, and imprudently resolved by the presbyter. He laments that the christian people, who had the same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should be divided by such inconsiderable distinctions ; and he seriously recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the Greek philosophers ; who could maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship. The indifference and contempt of the sovereign would have been, perhaps, the most effectual method of silencing the dispute, if the popular current had been less rapid and impetuous ; and if Constantine himself, in the midst of faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm possession of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers soon contrived to seduce the impartiality of the magistrate, and to awaken the zeal of the proselyte. He was pro-

His zeal. A. D. 325.

^h Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 64—72. The principles of toleration and religious indifference, contained in this epistle, have given great offence to Baronius, Tillemont, etc. who suppose that the emperor had some evil counsellor, either Satan or Eusebius, at his elbow. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 183.

voked by the insults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed by the real, as well as the imaginary, magnitude of the spreading mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toleration from the moment that he assembled three hundred bishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of the monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a patient intrepidity, which animated the valour of the combatants. Notwithstanding the applause which has been bestowed on the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine¹; a Roman general, whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and whose mind had not been enlightened either by study or by inspiration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek language, a metaphysical question, or an article of faith. But the credit of his favourite Osius, who appears to have presided in the council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favour of the orthodox party; and a well-timed insinuation, that the same Eusebius of Nicomedia, who now protected the heretic, had lately assisted the tyrant², might exasperate him against their adversaries. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgement of the synod must prepare themselves for an immediate exile, annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition; which, from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced to two, protesting bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded a reluctant and ambiguous consent to the homousion³; and the

¹ Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 13.

² Theodoret has preserved, (l. i. c. 20.) an epistle from Constantine to the people of Nicomedia, in which the monarch declares himself the public accuser of one of his subjects: he styles Eusebius, *ὁ τῆς τυραννίδος ὀμότετος συμμυστής*; and complains of his hostile behaviour during the civil war.

³ See in Socrates, (l. i. c. 8.) or rather in Theodoret, (l. i. c. 12.) an original letter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing the homousion. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but those who have read the second critical epistle of Le Clerc, (*Ars Critica*, tom. iii. p. 30—69.) must entertain a very unfavourable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of the bishop of Cæsarea.

CHAP.
XXI.

He perse-
cutes the
Arian

wavering conduct of the Nicomedian Eusebius served only to delay, about three months, his disgrace and exile^m. The impious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and disciples were branded by law with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames; and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found. The emperor had now imbibed the spirit of controversy; and the angry sarcastic style of his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatred which he had conceived against the enemies of Christⁿ.

and the or-
thodox
party.

A. D.
328—337.

But as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed, before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The exiles were recalled; and Eusebius, who gradually resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice by issuing an absolute command, that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired;—and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion, that the orthodox saints had contributed, more efficaciously than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies^o. The three

^m Athanasius, tom. i. p. 727; Philostorgius, l. i. c. 10; and Godefroy's Commentary, p. 41.

ⁿ Socrates, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addressed to the several cities, Constantine employed against the heretics the arms of ridicule and comic raillery.

^o We derive the original story from Athanasius, (tom. i. p. 670.) who expresses some reluctance to stigmatize the memory of the dead. He

principal leaders of the catholics, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Paul of Constantinople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils; and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the christian emperors, who, in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. The ecclesiastical government of Constantine cannot be justified from the reproach of levity and weakness. But the credulous monarch, unskilled in the stratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modest and specious professions of the heretics, whose sentiments he never perfectly understood; and while he protected Arius, and persecuted Athanasius, he still considered the council of Nice as the bulwark of the christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign^p.

The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgement on mysteries into which they had never been regularly initiated^q: and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius; who inherited the provinces of the east, and acquired the possession of the whole empire. The Arian presbyter or bishop, who had secreted for his use the testament of the deceased emperor, improved the fortunate occasion which had introduced him to the familiarity of a prince, whose

Constantius
favours the
Arians.

A. D.
337—361.

might exaggerate; but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Constantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels suddenly burst out in a privy) must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*.

^p The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct, of Constantine, may be traced in Eusebius, in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 23. l. iv. c. 41; Socrates, l. i. c. 23—39; Sozomen, l. ii. c. 16—34; Theodoret, l. i. c. 14—34; and Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 1—17. But the first of these writers was too near the scene of action, and the others were too remote from it. It is singular enough, that the important task of continuing the history of the church, should have been left for two laymen and a heretic.

^q Quia etiam tum catechumenus sacramentum fidei merito videretur potuisse nescire. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 410.

CHAP.
XXI.

public counsels were always swayed by his domestic favourites. The eunuchs and slaves diffused the spiritual poison through the palace; and the dangerous infection was communicated by the female attendants to the guards, and by the empress to her unsuspecting husband^r. The partiality which Constantius always expressed towards the Eusebian faction, was insensibly fortified by the dexterous management of their leaders; and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius increased his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cause of Arianism. While the two armies were engaged in the plains of Mursa, and the fate of the two rivals depended on the chance of war, the son of Constantine passed the anxious moments in a church of the martyrs, under the walls of the city. His spiritual comforter, Valens, the Arian bishop of the diocese, employed the most artful precautions to obtain such early intelligence as might secure either his favour or his escape. A secret chain of swift and trusty messengers informed him of the vicissitudes of the battle; and while the courtiers stood trembling round their affrighted master, Valens assured him that the Gallic legions gave way; and insinuated with some presence of mind, that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor ascribed his success to the merits and intercession of the bishop of Mursa, whose faith had deserved the public and miraculous approbation of heaven^s. The Arians, who considered as their own the victory of Constantius, preferred his glory to that of his father^t. Cyril, bishop

^r Socrates, l. ii. c. 2; Sozomen, l. iii. c. 18; Athanas. tom. i. p. 813. 834. He observes, that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the Son. Compare Dr. Jortin's remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 3. with a certain genealogy in *Candide*, (ch. iv.) which ends with one of the first companions of Christopher Columbus.

^s Sulpicius Severus, in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 405, 406.

^t Cyril (apud Baron. A. D. 353. N^o. 26.) expressly observes, that in the reign of Constantine the cross had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantius, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves, that Cyril was ignorant of the stupendous miracle to which the conversion of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surprising, since it was no more than twelve

of Jerusalem, immediately composed the description of a celestial cross, encircled with a splendid rainbow; which, during the festival of Pentecost, about the third hour of the day, had appeared over the mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims, and the people of the holy city". The size of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian historian has ventured to affirm, that it was conspicuous to the two armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who is purposely represented as an idolater, fled before the auspicious sign of orthodox christianity^x.

The sentiments of a judicious stranger, who has im-
partially considered the progress of civil or ecclesiasti-
cal discord, are always entitled to our notice: and a
short passage of Ammianus, who served in the armies,
and studied the character, of Constantius, is perhaps of
more value than many pages of theological invectives.
"The christian religion, which, in itself," says that mo-
derate historian, "is plain and simple, *he* confounded
by the dotage of superstition. Instead of reconciling
the parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished
and propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences
which his vain curiosity had excited. The highways
were covered with troops of bishops, galloping from
every side to the assemblies which they call synods;
and while they laboured to reduce the whole sect to
their own particular opinions, the public establishment
of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and re-
peated journeys^y." Our more intimate knowledge of

years after his death that Cyril was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem, by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cæsarea. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 715.

^x It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

^y Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus. See Gothofred. *Dissert.* p. 188. They could not refuse a miracle, even from the hand of an enemy.

^z So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed. *Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fufius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur (Valesius reads conatur) rei vehiculariæ concideret nervos.* Ammianus, xxi. 16.

CHAP.
XXI.

the ecclesiastical transactions of the reign of Constantius, would furnish an ample commentary on this remarkable passage; which justifies the rational apprehensions of Athanasius, that the restless activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in search of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world^a. As soon as the emperor was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he devoted the leisure of his winter quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Constantinople, to the amusement or toils of controversy: the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant, was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the theologian; and as he opposed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confessed, that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption^a. The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the homoeousion; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impiety of Ætius. The guilt of that atheist was aggravated by the suspicious favour of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the imperial ministers, who had been massacred at Antioch, were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius, which could neither be moderated by reason nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either side of the dark and empty abyss, by his horror of the opposite extreme: he alternately embraced and condemned the sentiments, he successively banished and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and the Semi-Arian factions^b. During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the

^a Athanas. tom. i. p. 870.

^a Socrates, l. ii. c. 35—47; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 12—30; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 18—32; Philostorg. l. iv. c. 4—12. l. v. c. 1—4. l. vi. c. 1—5.

^b Sozomen, l. iv. c. 23; Athanas. tom. i. p. 831. Tillemont, (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 947.) has collected several instances of the haughty fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and terror: "Moriendum pro Dei Filio." "De Regibus Apostaticis." "De non conveniendo cum Hæretico." "De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus."

words, and weighing the syllables, which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditations still pursued and occupied his slumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions; and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of bishop of bishops, from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions. The design of establishing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Asia, was repeatedly baffled by his own levity, by the divisions of the Arians, and by the resistance of the catholics; and he resolved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate the decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the summons. The bishops of the east were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Isauria; while those of the west held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic; and, instead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unavailing debate, separated without any definitive conclusion. The council of the west was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the pretorian prefect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a power of banishing fifteen of the most refractory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority of the sovereign, the sophistry of Valens and Ursacius, the distress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rimini. The deputies of the east and of the west attended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople; and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established

A. D. 360.

CHAP.
XXI.

the *likeness*, without expressing the *consubstantiality*, of the Son of God^c. But the triumph of Arianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

Character
and adventures of
Athanasius.

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius^d will never be separated from the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy: he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld with surprise and respect the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years; and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman em-

A.D.
326—373.

^c Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418—430. The Greek historians were very ignorant of the affairs of the west.

^d We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen composed a panegyric instead of a life of Athanasius; but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing our most authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epistles and apologies, tom. i. p. 670—951. I shall not imitate the example of Socrates, (l. ii. c. 1.) who published the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Athanasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Tillemont, (tom. viii.) and of the Benedictine editors, has collected every fact, and examined every difficulty.

pire was successively witness to his merit and his sufferings in the cause of the homooousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty and as the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated style, either of speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has always been revered in the orthodox school, as one of the most accurate masters of the christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character; the knowledge of jurisprudence*, and that of divination†. Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgement of Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But as Athanasius was continually engaged with the prejudices and passions of every order of men from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and most important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which

* Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 396.) calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the life or writings of Athanasius.

† *Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites scientissime callens, aliquoties prædixisse futura.* Ammianus, xv. 7. A prophecy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen, (l. iv. c. 10.) which evidently proves, (if the crows speak Latin,) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

CHAP.
XXI.

was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye. The archbishop of Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might boldly command, and where he must dexterously insinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he must withdraw from persecution; and while he directed the thunders of the church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in the bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not escaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation^g; but the propriety of his behaviour conciliated the affections both of the clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with unshaken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia; familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert^h. Nor was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of

^g The irregular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils which were held against him. See Philostorg. l. ii. c. 11, and Godefroy, p. 71: but it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would solemnly attest a *public* falsehood. Athanas. tom. i. p. 726.

^h See the History of the Fathers of the Desert, published by Rosweide; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. vii. in the lives of Antony, Pachomius, etc. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the mischiefs of the Arian heresy. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 492. 498, etc.

princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.

CHAP.
XXI.

In his youth, the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will that Arius should be restored to the catholic communion¹. The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy, were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumours and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene council, with the schismatic followers of Meletius². Athanasius had openly disapproved that ignominious peace; and the emperor was disposed to believe, that he had abused his ecclesiastical and civil power to persecute those odious sectaries; that he had sacrilegiously broken a chalice in one of their churches of Maræotis; that he had whipped or imprisoned six of their bishops; and that Arsenius, a seventh bishop of the same party, had been murdered, or at least mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate³. These charges, which affected his honour and his life, were referred by Constantine to his brother Dalmatius the censor, who resided at Antioch; the synods of Cæsarea and Tyre were successively convened; and the bishops of the east were instructed to judge the cause of Atha-

Persecution
against
Athanasius.
A.D. 330.

¹ At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*, *καὶ ἀγράφως μὲν ἠπειλεῖ, γράφων δὲ, ἡξίου*. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but while he required that the entrance of the church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odious name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skilful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions, (tom. i. p. 788.) which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

² The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the obscure controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the partiality of Athanasius, and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 201.

³ The treatment of the six bishops is specified by Sozomen, (l. ii. c. 25;) but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalices, leaves this grave accusation without a reply.

CHAP. nasius before they proceeded to consecrate the new
XXI. church of the resurrection at Jerusalem. The primate

- might be conscious of his innocence; but he was sensible that the same implacable spirit which had dictated the accusation, would direct the proceeding, and pronounce the sentence. He prudently declined the tribunal of his enemies, despised the summons of the synod of Cæsarea; and, after a long and artful delay, submitted to the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened to punish his criminal disobedience if he refused to appear in the council of Tyre^m.
- A.D. 335. Before Athanasius, at the head of fifty Egyptian prelates, sailed from Alexandria, he had wisely secured the alliance of the Meletians; and Arsenius himself, his imaginary victim, and his secret friend, was privately concealed in his train. The synod of Tyre was conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, with more passion, and with less art, than his learning and experience might promise; his numerous faction repeated the names of homicide and tyrant; and their clamours were encouraged by the seeming patience of Athanasius; who expected the decisive moment to produce Arsenius alive and unhurt in the midst of the assembly. The nature of the other charges did not admit of such clear and satisfactory replies; yet the archbishop was able to prove, that in the village where he was accused of breaking a consecrated chalice, neither church nor altar nor chalice could really exist. The Arians, who had secretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, attempted, however, to disguise their injustice by the imitation of judicial forms: the synod appointed an episcopal commission of six delegates to collect evidence on the spot; and this measure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, opened new scenes of violence and perjuryⁿ. After

^m Athanas. tom. i. p. 788; Socrates, l. i. c. 28; Sozomen, l. ii. c. 25. The emperor, in his Epistle of Convocation, (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 42.) seems to prejudice some members of the clergy, and it was more than probable that the synod would apply those reproaches to Athanasius.

ⁿ See, in particular, the second Apology of Athanasius, tom. i. p. 763—

the return of the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council pronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against the primate of Egypt. The decree, expressed in the fiercest language of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emperor and the catholic church; and the bishops immediately resumed a mild and devout aspect, such as became their holy pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ^o.

But the injustice of these ecclesiastical judges had not been countenanced by the submission, or even by the presence, of Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous experiment, whether the throne was inaccessible to the voice of truth; and before the final sentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark, which was ready to hoist sail for the imperial city. The request of a formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; but Athanasius concealed his arrival, watched the moment of Constantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback through the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparition excited his surprise and indignation, and the guards were ordered to remove the importunate suitor; but his resentment was subdued by involuntary respect; and the haughty spirit of the emperor was awed by the courage and eloquence of a bishop, who implored his justice and awakened his conscience^p. Constantine listened to the complaints of Athanasius with impartial and even gracious attention; the members of the synod of Tyre were summoned to justify their proceedings; and the arts of the Eusebian faction would have been confounded, if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate by the dexterous supposition of an unpardon-

His first
exile,
A. D. 336.

808, and his Epistles to the Monks, p. 808—866. They are justified by original and authentic documents; but they would inspire more confidence, if he appeared less innocent, and his enemies less absurd.

^o Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 41—47.

^p Athanas. tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius, this situation would afford a better subject for a picture than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

C H A P.
XXI.

and restora-
tion,
A. D. 338.

His second
exile,
A. D. 341.

able offence; a criminal design to intercept and detain the corn fleet of Alexandria, which supplied the subsistence of the new capital^q. The emperor was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secured by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne; and the sentence which, after long hesitation, he pronounced, was that of a jealous ostracism, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hospitable court of Treves, Athanasius passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honourable edict of the younger Constantine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest^r.

The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the east, soon became the secret accomplice of the Eusebians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colours of Semi-Arianism, and twenty-five canons, which still regulate the discipline of the orthodox Greeks^s. It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions till he had been absolved by the

^q Athanas. tom. i. p. 729. Eunapius has related (in Vit. Sophist. p. 36, 37. edit. Commelin) a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Ablavius, his pretorian prefect. The corn fleet was detained for want of a south wind: the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Sopater was beheaded on a charge that he had bound the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds, that Constantine wished to prove, by this execution, that he had absolutely renounced the superstition of the gentiles.

^r In his return he saw Constantius twice, at Viminacum and at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. Athanas. tom. i. p. 676. Tillemont supposes that Constantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia. Mémoires Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 69.

^s See Beveridge, Pandect. tom. i. p. 429—452. and tom. ii. Annotation. p. 182; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 310—324. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this synod of Antioch with too much favour and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

judgement of an equal synod: the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius; the council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation: a stranger named Gregory was seated on his throne; and Philagrius[†], the prefect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria, and passed three years^a as an exile and a suppliant on the holy threshold of the Vatican[‡]. By the assiduous study of the Latin language, he soon qualified himself to negotiate with the western clergy; his decent flattery swayed and directed the haughty Julius: the Roman pontiff was persuaded to consider his appeal as the peculiar interest of the apostolic see; and his innocence was unanimously declared in a council of fifty bishops of Italy. At the end of three years, the primate was summoned to the court of Milan by the emperor Constans, who, in the indulgence of unlawful pleasures, still professed a lively regard for the orthodox faith. The cause of truth and justice was promoted by the influence of gold[§], and the ministers of Constans advised their sovereign to

[†] This magistrate, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 390, 391.

Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

^a The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome, are strenuously agitated by Valesius, *Observat. ad Calcem*, tom. ii; *Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 1—5*; and Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 674*, etc. I have followed the simple hypothesis of Valesius, who allows only one journey after the intrusion of Gregory.

[‡] I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Wetstein, *Prolegomen. N. T. p. 19*: Si tamen historiam ecclesiasticam velimus consulare, patebit jam inde a seculo quarto, cum, ortis controversiis, ecclesiæ Græcæ doctores in duas partes scinderentur, ingenio, eloquentia, numero, tantum non æquales, eam partem quæ vincere cupiebat Romam confugisse, majestatemque pontificis comiter coluisse, eoque pacto oppressis per pontificem et episcopos Latinos adversariis prævaluisse, atque orthodoxiam in conciliis stabilivisse. Eam ob causam Athanasius, non sine comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæsit.

[§] Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest of religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionable conduct by the example of Cato and Sidney; the former of whom is said to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe, in the cause of liberty.

CHAP.
XXI.

A.D. 346.

require the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly, which might act as the representatives of the catholic church. Ninety-four bishops of the west, seventy-six bishops of the east, encountered each other at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector of Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostile altercations; the Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety, retired to Philipopolis in Thrace; and the rival synods reciprocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemies, whom they piously condemned as the enemies of the true God. Their decrees were published and ratified in their respective provinces; and Athanasius, who in the west was revered as a saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the east². The council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord and schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which were separated by the accidental difference of faith, and the permanent distinction of language.

and restora-
tion.
A.D. 349.

During his second exile in the west, Athanasius was frequently admitted to the imperial presence; at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be attested by these respectable witnesses, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals³. Prudence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these familiar conferences with the sovereign of the west, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantius; but he boldly arraigned the guilt

² The canon which allows appeals to the Roman pontiffs, has almost raised the council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council; and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with those of the Nicene synod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 689, and Geddes's Tracts, vol. ii. p. 419—460.

³ As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius (see the Epistle to the Monks) at the same time that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the archbishop. Tom. i. p. 677.

of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the distress and danger of the catholic church; and excited Constans to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause; and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria^b. But this religious war, so horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the emperor of the east condescended to solicit a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited with decent pride, till he had received three successive epistles, full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favour, and the esteem of his sovereign; who invited him to resume his episcopal seat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner, by the strict orders which were despatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to erase from the public registers the illegal proceedings which had been obtained during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given, which justice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abject homage of the oriental bishops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration^c. At Antioch

^b Notwithstanding the discreet silence of Athanasius, and the manifest forgery of a letter inserted by Socrates, these menaces are proved by the unquestionable evidence of Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Constantius himself. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693.

^c I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retraction of Ursacius and Valens. Athanas. tom. i. p. 776. Their epistles to Julius, bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other, that they cannot both be genuine. The one speaks the lan-

CHAP.
XXI.

he saw the emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embraces and protestations of his master; and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians a single church at Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession: absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigour, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Æthiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the christian world^d.

Resentment
of Constantius.

A.D. 351.

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissembling, can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constans soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constans, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the catholic church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a bishop, who, by the weight of his personal authority, might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accused of holding a secret correspondence*; and the emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest father, the most reverend Athanasius, that, notwithstanding the malicious rumours which were circulated by their common enemies, he had inherited the senti-

guage of criminals who confess their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies, who solicit on equal terms an honourable reconciliation.

^d The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. p. 769, and 822. 843; Socrates, l. ii. c. 18; Sozomen, l. iii. c. 19; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 11, 12; Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

* Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677, 678.) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, solemn assertions, and specious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name; but he requests that his own secretaries, and those of the tyrant, may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.

ments, as well as the throne of his deceased brother^f. Gratitude and humanity would have disposed the primate of Egypt to deplore the untimely fate of Constantians, and to abhor the guilt of Magnentius; but as he clearly understood that the apprehensions of Constantius were his only safeguard, the fervour of his prayers for the success of the righteous cause might perhaps be somewhat abated. The ruin of Athanasius was no longer contrived by the obscure malice of a few bigoted or angry bishops, who abused the authority of a credulous monarch. The monarch himself avowed the resolution which he had so long suppressed, of avenging his private injuries^g; and the first winter after his victory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an enemy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul.

CHAP.
XXI.

If the emperor had capriciously decreed the death of the most eminent and virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel order would have been executed without hesitation, by the ministers of open violence or of specious injustice. The caution, the delay, the difficulty with which he proceeded in the condemnation and punishment of a popular bishop, discovered to the world that the privileges of the church had already revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government. The sentence which was pronounced in the synod of Tyre, and subscribed by a large majority of the eastern bishops, had never been expressly repealed; and as Athanasius had been once degraded from his episcopal dignity by the judgement of his brethren, every subsequent act might be considered as irregular, and even criminal. But the memory of the firm and effectual support which the primate of Egypt had derived from the attachment of the western church, engaged Constantius to suspend the execution of the sentence till he had obtained the concurrence of the

Councils of
Arles and
Milan.
A.D.
353—355.

^f Athanas. tom. i. p. 825—844.

^g Athanas. tom. i. p. 861; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared, that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

CHAP.
XXI.

Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in ecclesiastical negotiations; and the important cause between the emperor and one of his subjects was solemnly debated, first in the synod of Arles, and afterwards in the great council of Milan^h, which consisted of above three hundred bishops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of the eunuchs, and the pressing solicitations of a prince, who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity; and exposed his own passions, whilst he influenced those of the clergy. Corruption, the most infallible symptom of constitutional liberty, was successfully practised: honours, gifts, and immunities were offered and accepted as the price of an episcopal voteⁱ; and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully represented as the only measure which could restore the peace and union of the catholic church. The friends of Athanasius were not, however, wanting to their leader or to their cause. With a manly spirit, which the sanctity of their character rendered less dangerous, they maintained, in public debate, and in private conference with the emperor, the eternal obligation of religion and justice. They declared, that neither the hope of his favour, nor the fear of his displeasure, should prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an absent, an innocent, a respectable brother^k. They affirmed, with apparent reason, that the illegal and obsolete decrees of the council of Tyre

^h The affairs of the council of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously related by the Greek writers, that we must rejoice in the supply of some letters of Eusebius, extracted by Baronius from the archives of the church of Vercellæ, and of an old life of Dionysius of Milan, published by Bollandus. See Baronius, A. D. 355; and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.

ⁱ The honours, presents, feasts, which seduced so many bishops, are mentioned with indignation by those who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We combat," says Hilary of Poitiers, "against Constantius the antichrist; who strokes the belly instead of scourging the back:" *qui non dorsa cedit, sed ventrem palpat*. Hilarius contra Constant. c. 5. p. 1240.

^k Something of this opposition is mentioned by Ammianus, (xv. 7.) who had a very dark and superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history. Libe-rius . . . perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, etc.

had long since been tacitly abolished by the imperial edicts, the honourable reestablishment of the archbishop of Alexandria, and the silence or recantation of his most clamorous adversaries. They alleged, that his innocence had been attested by the unanimous bishops of Egypt, and had been acknowledged in the councils of Rome and Sardica¹, by the impartial judgement of the Latin church. They deplored the hard condition of Athanasius, who, after enjoying so many years his seat, his reputation, and the seeming confidence of his sovereign, was again called upon to confute the most groundless and extravagant accusations. Their language was specious; their conduct was honourable: but in this long and obstinate contest, which fixed the eyes of the whole empire on a single bishop, the ecclesiastical factions were prepared to sacrifice truth and justice, to the more interesting object of defending or removing the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith. The Arians still thought it prudent to disguise, in ambiguous language, their real sentiments and designs: but the orthodox bishops, armed with the favour of the people, and the decrees of a general council, insisted on every occasion, and particularly at Milan, that their adversaries should purge themselves from the suspicion of heresy, before they presumed to arraign the conduct of the great Athanasius^m.

But the voice of reason (if reason was indeed on the side of Athanasius) was silenced by the clamours of a factious or venal majority; and the councils of Arles and Milan were not dissolved till the archbishop of Alexandria had been solemnly condemned and deposed by the judgement of the western, as well as of the eastern church. The bishops who had opposed, were required to subscribe, the sentence; and to unite in

Condemnation of
Athanasius.
A. D. 355.

¹ More properly by the orthodox part of the council of Sardica. If the bishops of both parties had fairly voted, the division would have been ninety-four to seventy-six. M. de Tillemont (see tom. viii. p. 1147—1158.) is justly surprised that so small a majority should have proceeded so vigorously against their adversaries, the principal of whom they immediately deposed.

^m Sulp. Severus in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 412.

religious communion with the suspected leaders of the adverse party. A formulary of consent was transmitted by the messengers of state to the absent bishops: and all those who refused to submit their private opinion to the public and inspired wisdom of the councils of Arles and Milan, were immediately banished by the emperor, who affected to execute the decrees of the catholic church. Among those prelates who led the honourable band of confessors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Osius of Cordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers, may deserve to be particularly distinguished. The eminent station of Liberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the personal merit and long experience of the venerable Osius, who was revered as the favourite of the great Constantine, and the father of the Nicene faith; placed those prelates at the head of the Latin church: and their example, either of submission or resistance, would probably be imitated by the episcopal crowd. But the repeated attempts of the emperor to seduce or to intimidate the bishops of Rome and Cordova, were for some time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himself ready to suffer under Constantius, as he had suffered threescore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the presence of his sovereign, asserted the innocence of Athanasius, and his own freedom. When he was banished to Beræa in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and insulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark, that the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishopsⁿ. The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances; and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance. Persua-

ⁿ The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammianus, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16; Athanas. tom. i. p. 834—837; Hilar. Fragment. i.

sion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant signature of the decrepit bishop of Cordova, whose strength was broken, and whose faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of an hundred years; and the insolent triumph of the Arians provoked some of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman severity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old man, to whose former services christianity itself was so deeply indebted °.

The fall of Liberius and Osius reflected a brighter Exiles. lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered, with unshaken fidelity, to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles into distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire^p. Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of Cappadocia, were less inhospitable than the residence of those cities in which an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theological hatred^q. Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of their adherents^r; and from the satisfaction which they soon enjoyed of observing the intestine divisions of the adversaries of the Nicene

° The life of Osius is collected by Tillemont, (tom. vii. p. 524—561.) who in the most extravagant terms first admires, and then reprobates, the bishop of Cordova. In the midst of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanasius may be distinguished from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

^p The confessors of the west were successively banished to the deserts of Arabia or Thebais, the lonely places of mount Taurus, the wildest parts of Phrygia, which were in the possession of the impious Montanists, etc. When the heretic Ætius was too favourably entertained at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a district inhabited by savages, and infested by war and pestilence. Philostorg. l. v. c. 2.

^q See the cruel treatment and strange obstinacy of Eusebius, in his own letters, published by Baronius, A. D. 356. N°. 92—102.

^r Cæterum exules satis constat, totius orbis studiis celebratos, pecuniasque eis in sumptum affatim congestas, legationibus quoque eos plebis catholicæ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, p. 414; Athanas. tom. i. p. 836. 840.

faith. Such was the nice and capricious taste of the emperor Constantius, and so easily was he offended by the slightest deviation from his imaginary standard of christian truth, that he persecuted, with equal zeal, those who defended the *consubstantiality*, those who asserted the *similar substance*, and those who denied the *likeness*, of the Son of God. Three bishops, degraded and banished for those adverse opinions, might possibly meet in the same place of exile; and, according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

Third ex-
pulsion of
Athanasius
from Alex-
andria.
A. D. 356.

The disgrace and exile of the orthodox bishops of the west were designed as so many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself. Six and twenty months had elapsed, during which the imperial court secretly laboured, by the most insidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which supplied his popular liberality. But when the primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin church, was left destitute of any foreign support, Constantius despatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the only motive which could restrain Constantius from giving his messengers the sanction of a written mandate, must be imputed to his doubt of the event; and to a sense of the danger to which he might expose the second city, and the most fertile province, of the empire, if the people should persist in the resolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence re-

* Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Constantius, (tom. i. p. 673.) his first Apology for his flight, (p. 701.) his prolix Epistle to the Solitaries, (p. 808.) and the original Protest of the People of Alexandria against the violences committed by Syrianus, (p. 866.) Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9.) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

spectfully to dispute the truth of an order which he could not reconcile, either with the equity or with the former declarations of his gracious master. The civil powers of Egypt found themselves inadequate to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated, that all proceedings and all hostilities should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation, the catholics were deceived into a false and fatal security; while the legions of the Upper Egypt and of Libya advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal^t. The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken, either to shut the gates, or to occupy the important posts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers, armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a part of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but, as the bodies of the slain, and the fragments of military weapons, remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption, rather than as an absolute conquest. The other

^t Athanasius had lately sent for Antony, and some of his chosen monks. They descended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the sanctity of Athanasius, and were honourably conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 491, 492. See likewise Rufinus, iii. 164. in Vit. Patr. p. 524.

churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was exposed to the insults of a licentious army, stimulated by the ecclesiastics of an hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed; who may deserve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private resentment were gratified with impunity, and even with applause. The pagans of Alexandria, who still formed a numerous and discontented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop whom they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar favours, and the apprehension of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged them to promise their support to the destined successor of Athanasius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an Arian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of Sebastian, who had been appointed count of Egypt for the execution of that important design. In the use as well as in the acquisition of power, the tyrant George disregarded the laws of religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of violence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital, were repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the conduct of his ministers. By a public and passionate epistle, the emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the most reverend George, the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron and benefactor of the city, to surpass the fame of Alexander himself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution to pursue with fire and sword the seditious adherents of the

wicked Athanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, and escaped the ignominious death which he had so often deserved".

CHAP.
XXI.

Athanasius had indeed escaped from the most imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve and fix our attention. On the memorable night when the church of St. Theonas was invested by the troops of Syrianus, the archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregation to express their religious confidence, by chanting one of the psalms of David, which celebrates the triumph of the God of Israel over the haughty and impious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burst open; a cloud of arrows was discharged among the people; the soldiers, with drawn swords, rushed forwards into the sanctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armour was reflected by the holy luminaries which burnt round the altar^u. Athanasius still rejected the pious importunity of the monks and presbyters, who were attached to his person; and nobly refused to desert his episcopal station, till he had dismissed in safety the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of the night favoured the retreat of the archbishop; and though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage; and eluded the eager search of the soldiers, who were instructed by their Arian guides, that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptable present to the emperor. From that moment the primate of Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and re-

His behaviour.

^u Athanas. tom. i. p. 694. The emperor, or his Arian secretaries, while they express their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

^x These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally transcribed from the protest which was publicly presented three days afterwards by the catholics of Alexandria. See Athanas. tom. i. p. 867.

CHAP. maintained above six years concealed in impenetrable ob-
XXI. scurity^y.

His retreat,
A.D.
356—362.

The despotic power of his implacable enemy filled the whole extent of the Roman world; and the exasperated monarch had endeavoured, by a very pressing epistle to the christian princes of Æthiopia, to exclude Athanasius from the most remote and sequestered regions of the earth. Counts, prefects, tribunes, whole armies, were successively employed to pursue a bishop and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the imperial edicts; liberal rewards were promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, either alive or dead; and the most severe penalties were denounced against those who should dare to protect the public enemy^a. But the deserts of Thebais were now peopled by a race of wild, yet submissive fanatics, who preferred the commands of their abbot to the laws of their sovereign. The numerous disciples of Antony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as their father, admired the patience and humility with which he conformed to their strictest institutions, collected every word which dropped from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom; and persuaded themselves, that their prayers, their fasts, and their vigils, were less meritorious than the zeal which they expressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence^a. The monasteries of Egypt were seated in lonely and desolate places, on the summit of mountains, or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or trumpet of Tabenne was the well-known signal which assembled se-

^y The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnauld, and have expatiated with pleasure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of those celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterously managed by the abbé de la Bleterie, *Vie de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 130.

^a Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, præfecti, comites, exercitus quoque, ad pervestigandum eum moventur edictis imperialibus: præmia delatoribus proponuntur, si quis eum vivum, si id minus, caput certe Athanasii detulisset. *Rufin. l. i. c. 16.*

^a Gregor. Nazianzen. tom. i. orat. xxi. p. 384, 385. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 176—410. 820—880.

veral thousand robust and determined monks, who, for the most part, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force which it was impossible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to the executioner; and supported their national character, that tortures could never wrest from an Egyptian the confession of a secret which he was resolved not to disclose^b. The archbishop of Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, was lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and, on the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed, by their officious hands, from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deserts, which the gloomy and credulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and savage monsters. The retirement of Athanasius, which ended only with the life of Constantius, was spent, for the most part, in the society of the monks, who faithfully served him as guards, as secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connection with the catholic party, tempted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, to emerge from the desert, to introduce himself into Alexandria, and to trust his person to the discretion of his friends and adherents. His various adventures might have furnished the subject of a very entertaining romance. He was once secreted in a dry cistern, which he had scarcely left before he was betrayed by the treachery of a female slave^c; and he was once concealed in a still more extraordinary asylum, the house of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as she related the story many years afterwards, she was sur-

^b Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illius tractâs latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. Ammian. xxii. 16. and Valesius ad locum.

^c Rufin. l. i. c. 18; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will be rendered impossible, if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum which he accidentally or occasionally had used.

prised by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose undress, who, advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celestial vision to seek under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preserved the sacred pledge which was intrusted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, she instantly conducted Athanasius into her most secret chamber, and watched over his safety with the tenderness of a friend and the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continued, she regularly supplied him with books and provisions, washed his feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously concealed from the eye of suspicion, this familiar and solitary intercourse between a saint whose character required the most unblemished chastity, and a female whose charms might excite the most dangerous emotions^d. During the six years of persecution and exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithful companion; and the formal declaration, that he *saw* the councils of Rimini and Seleucia^e, forces us to believe that he was secretly present at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of personally negotiating with his friends, and of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, might justify, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous an enterprise: and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigation with every seaport of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat, the intrepid primate waged an incessant and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated, and eagerly per-

^d Palladius, (*Hist. Lausiaca*. c. 136. in *Vit. Patrum*, p. 776.) the original author of this anecdote had conversed with the damsel, who in her old age still remembered with pleasure so pious and honourable a connection. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valesius, Tillemont, etc. who almost reject a story so unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history.

^e Athanas. tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont, (tom. viii. p. 1197.) that his expressions imply a personal, though perhaps secret, visit to the synods.

used, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the antichrist of the church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch, who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, and suppressed the revolt of Sylvanus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetricio, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles, which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power^f.

The persecution of Athanasius, and of so many respectable bishops who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least for the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of indignation and discontent to all christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The people regretted the loss of their faithful pastors, whose banishment was usually followed by the intrusion of a stranger^g into the episcopal chair; and loudly complained, that the right of election was violated, and that they were condemned to obey a mercenary usurper, whose person was unknown, and whose principles were suspected. The catholics might prove to the world, that they were not

^f The epistle of Athanasius to the monks is filled with reproaches, which the public must feel to be true; (vol. i. p. 834. 856.) and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belshazzar, etc. The boldness of Hilary was attended with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul after the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer sent his libels to Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 905.

^g Athanasius (tom. i. p. 811.) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 861.) in the pretended election of Felix. Three eunuchs represented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court, assumed the functions of the bishops of the suburbicarian provinces.

CHAP. involved in the guilt and heresy of their ecclesiastical governor, by publicly testifying their dissent, or
 XXI. by totally separating themselves from his communion.
 Divisions. The first of these methods was invented at Antioch, and practised with such success, that it was soon diffused over the christian world. The doxology, or sacred hymn, which celebrates the *glory* of the Trinity, is susceptible of very nice, but material, inflexions; and the substance of an orthodox, or an heretical, creed, may be expressed by the difference of a disjunctive, or a copulative, particle. Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody^h, were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen, who were attached to the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the Glory to the Father, AND the Son, AND the Holy Ghostⁱ, was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the catholics insulted, by the purity of their doctrine, the Arian prelate, who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs, prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the presbyters, till the death of their exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor^k. The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders;

^h Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73. p. 966—984.) has collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church singing, both in the east and west.

ⁱ Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy, p. 147, etc. There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost:" "To the Father and the Son in the Holy Ghost:" and "To the Father in the Son and the Holy Ghost."

^k After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation, which afterwards degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 35—54. 1137—1158. tom. viii. p. 537—632. 1314—1332. In many churches, the Arians and Homoousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 14.

and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two, or three, or even four bishops, who exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the church. The abuse of christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obscure citizen, who might calmly have surveyed the elevation and fall of successive emperors, imagined and experienced, that his own life and fortune were connected with the interests of a popular ecclesiastic. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire, and the temper of mankind, under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great people; and could reject with scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. When the eunuchs had secretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-grounded apprehension of a tumult engaged them to use the utmost precautions in the execution of the sentence. The capital was invested on every side, and the prefect was commanded to seize the person of the bishop, either by stratagem or by open force. The order was obeyed; and Liberius, with the greatest difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was swiftly conveyed beyond the reach of the Roman people, before their consternation was turned into rage. As soon as they were informed of his banishment into Thrace, a general assembly was convened, and the clergy of Rome bound themselves, by a public and solemn oath, never to desert their bishop, never to acknowledge the usurper Fælix; who, by the influence of the eunuchs, had been irregularly chosen and consecrated within the walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years, their pious obstinacy

subsisted entire and unshaken; and when Constantius visited Rome, he was assailed by the importunate solicitations of a people, who had preserved, as the last remnant of their ancient freedom, the right of treating their sovereign with familiar insolence. The wives of many of the senators and most honourable citizens, after pressing their husbands to intercede in favour of Liberius, were advised to undertake a commission, which, in their hands, would be less dangerous, and might prove more successful. The emperor received with politeness these female deputies, whose wealth and dignity were displayed in the magnificence of their dress and ornaments: he admired their inflexible resolution of following their beloved pastor to the most distant regions of the earth; and consented that the two bishops, Liberius and Fælix, should govern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were so repugnant to the practice, and even to the sentiments, of those times, that when the answer of Constantius was publicly read in the circus of Rome, so reasonable a project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. The eager vehemence which animated the spectators in the decisive moment of a horse-race, was now directed towards a different object; and the circus resounded with the shout of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed, “One God, one Christ, one bishop.” The zeal of the Roman people in the cause of Liberius was not confined to words alone; and the dangerous and bloody sedition which they excited soon after the departure of Constantius, determined that prince to accept the submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor, and the power of the opposite faction; the adherents of Fælix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face

of Rome, upon the return of a christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius, and the proscriptions of Sylla¹.

CHAP.
XXI.

II. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of christians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerful faction of infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres, the theological disputes of the church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the east had never been polluted by the worship of idols; and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions which distinguished the christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years he was five times driven from his throne; to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people, than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of mount Taurus²,

¹ See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, xv. 7; Athanas. tom. i. p. 834. 861; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 15; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 17; Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 413; Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Faust. Libell. p. 3, 4; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. vi. p. 336.

² Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See Cellarii Geograph. tom. ii. p. 213; Wesseling ad Itinerar. p. 179. 703.

CHAP.
XXI.

confined in a dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the principal ministers of the emperor Constantius^a. The first blood which stained the new capital was spilt in this ecclesiastical contest; and many persons were slain on both sides, in the furious and obstinate seditions of the people. The commission of enforcing a sentence of banishment against Paul, had been intrusted to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry; but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the palace of Hermogenes was consumed; the first military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through the streets of Constantinople, and after he expired his lifeless corpse was exposed to their wanton insults^c. The fate of Hermogenes instructed Philip, the pretorian prefect, to act with more precaution on a similar occasion. In the most gentle and honourable terms, he required the attendance of Paul in the baths of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with the palace and the sea. A vessel, which lay ready at the garden stairs, immediately hoisted sail; and, while the people were still ignorant of the meditated sacrilege, their bishop was already embarked on his voyage to Thessalonica. They soon beheld, with surprise and indignation, the gates of the palace thrown open, and the usurper Macedonius seated by the side of the prefect on a lofty chariot, which was surrounded by troops of guards with drawn swords. The military procession advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians and the catholics eagerly rushed to occupy that important post; and three thousand one hundred and fifty persons lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult. Macedonius,

^a Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703. 813, 814.) affirms, in the most positive terms, that Paul was murdered; and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the unsuspicious testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges, that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius is servilely copied by Socrates, (l. ii. c. 26;) but Sozomen, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes, (l. iv. c. 2.) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

^c Ammianus (xiv. 10.) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no longer possess that part of his history.

who was supported by a regular force, obtained a decisive victory; but his reign was disturbed by clamour and sedition; and the causes which appeared the least connected with the subject of dispute, were sufficient to nourish and to kindle the flame of civil discord. As the chapel in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited was in a ruinous condition, the bishop transported those venerable remains into the church of St. Acacius. This prudent and even pious measure was represented as a wicked profanation by the whole party which adhered to the homousian doctrine. The factions immediately flew to arms, the consecrated ground was used as their field of battle; and one of the ecclesiastical historians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a stream of blood, which filled the porticoes and the adjacent courts. The writer who should impute these tumults solely to a religious principle, would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it must be confessed, that the motive which misled the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorse which, in another cause, would have succeeded to the rage of the christians of Constantinople^p.

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital, and the criminal behaviour of a faction which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordinary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation, were inflicted with partial rigour; and the Greeks still revere the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a sub-deacon, who were accused of the murder of Hermogenes, and beheaded at the gates of

^p See Socrates, l. ii. c. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 38; and Sozomen, l. iii. 3, 4, 7, 9. l. iv. c. ii. 21. The acts of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which Photius has made an abstract, (Phot. Bibliot. p. 1419—1430.) are an indifferent copy of these historians; but a modern Greek, who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles, is entitled to some commendation.

CHAP.
XXI.

Constantinople. By an edict of Constantius against the catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in the Theodosian code, those who refused to communicate with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics, and of the rights of christians; they were compelled to relinquish the possession of the churches; and were strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjust law in the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands; and the cruelties exercised by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the *homoiousion*, exceeded the commission, and disgraced the reign, of Constantius. The sacraments of the church were administered to the reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children, who for that purpose had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open by a wooden engine, while the consecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells, or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards^q. The Novatians of Constantinople and the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the homoousian standard, deserved to be confounded with the catholics themselves. Macedonius was informed, that a large district of Paphlagonia^r was almost entirely inhabited by those sectaries.

^q Socrates, l. ii. c. 27. 38; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macedonius, in the work of persecution, were the two bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader, that the difference between the *homoousion* and *homoiousion* is almost invisible to the nicest theological eye.

^r We are ignorant of the precise situation of Mantinium. In speaking of these four bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the Acts of St. Paul, use the indefinite terms of ἀριθμοί, φάλαγγες, τάγματα, which Nicephorus very properly translates *thousands*. Vales. ad Socrat. l. ii. c. 38.

He resolved either to convert or to extirpate them ; and as he distrusted, on this occasion, the efficacy of an ecclesiastical mission, he commanded a body of four thousand legionaries to march against the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinium under his spiritual dominion. The Novatian peasants, animated by despair and religious fury, boldly encountered the invaders of their country ; and though many of the Paphlagonians were slain, the Roman legions were vanquished by an irregular multitude, armed only with scythes and axes ; and, except a few who escaped by an ignominious flight, four thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of battle. The successor of Constantius has expressed, in a concise but lively manner, some of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more especially the east, in the reign of a prince who was the slave of his own passions, and of those of his eunuchs. “ Many were imprisoned, and persecuted, and driven into exile. Whole troops of those who are styled heretics were massacred, particularly at Cyzicus and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other provinces, towns and villages were laid waste, and utterly destroyed¹. ”

While the flames of the Arian controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies, the savage fanatics who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party². The severe execution of the laws of Constantine had excited a spirit of discontent and resistance ; the strenuous efforts of his son Constans to restore the unity of the church, exasperated the sentiments of mutual hatred which had first occasioned the separation ; and the

CHAP.
XXI.

The revolt
and fury of
the Donatist
*Circumcel-
lions*.
A.D.
345, etc.

¹ Julian. Epistol. lii. p. 436. edit. Spanheim.

² See Optatus Milevitanus, (particularly iii. 4.) with the Donatist history by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his edition. The numerous circumstances which Augustin has mentioned, of the fury of the *Circumcellions* against others, and against themselves, have been laboriously collected by Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 147—165 ; and he has often, though without design, exposed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.

CHAP.
XXI.

methods of force and corruption employed by the two imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their pretended successors". The peasants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania, were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly converted to the christian faith; but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist teachers. They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The violence of the officers of justice, who were usually sustained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics, which had been shed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and rashness, the ministers of persecution sometimes provoked their fate; and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into despair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peasants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Getulian desert; and readily exchanged the habits of labour for a life of idleness and rapine, which was consecrated by the name of religion, and faintly condemned by the doctors of the sect. The leaders of the Circumcellions assumed the title of captains of the saints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with swords and spears,

* It is amusing enough to observe the language of opposite parties, when they speak of the same men and things. Gratus, bishop of Carthage, begins the acclamations of an orthodox synod, "Gratias Deo omnipotenti et Christo Jesu . . . qui imperavit religiosissimo Constanti imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis, et mitteret ministros sancti operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium." Monument. Vet. ad calcem Optati, p. 313. "Ecce subito," says the Donatist author of the Passion of Marculus, "de Constantis regis tyrannica domo . . . pollutum Macarianæ persecutionis murmur increpuit, et *duabus bestiis* ad Africam missis, eodem scilicet Macario et Paulo, execrandum prorsus ac dirum ecclesiæ certamen indictum est; ut populus christianus ad unionem cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis militum gladiis et draconum presentibus signis, et tubarum vocibus cogeretur." Monu. p. 304.

was a huge and weighty club, which they termed an *Israelite*; and the well-known sound of "Praise be to God," which they used as their cry of war, diffused consternation over the unarmed provinces of Africa. At first their depredations were coloured by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded the measure of subsistence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burnt the villages which they had pillaged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country. The occupations of husbandry, and the administration of justice, were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum for the slaves and debtors, who flocked in crowds to their holy standard. When they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves with plunder; but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts of violence and murder; and some catholic priests, who had imprudently signalized their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics with the most refined and wanton barbarity. The spirit of the Circumcellions was not always exerted against their defenceless enemies; they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked in the open field, but with unsuccessful valour, an advanced guard of the imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken in arms, received, and they soon deserved, the same treatment which might have been shown to the wild beasts of the desert. The captives died, without a murmur, either by the sword, the axe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were multiplied in a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion, and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness. In the beginning of the present century, the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and the enthusiasm of the Camisards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc surpassed those of Numidia by their military achieve-

CHAP.
XXI.

Their reli-
gious sui-
cides.

ments, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more resolution and perseverance^{*}.

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind; and which, if it really prevailed among them in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be paralleled in any country, or in any age. Many of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life, and the desire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what hands, they perished, if their conduct was sanctified by the intention of devoting themselves to the glory of the true faith, and the hope of eternal happiness[†]. Sometimes they rudely disturbed the festivals and profaned the temples of paganism, with the design of exciting the most zealous of the idolaters to revenge the insulted honour of their gods. They sometimes forced their way into the courts of justice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently stopped travellers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the stroke of martyrdom, by the promise of a reward, if they consented, and by the threat of instant death, if they refused to grant so very singular a favour. When they were disappointed of every other resource, they announced the day on which, in the presence of their friends and brethren, they should cast themselves headlong from some lofty rock; and many precipices were shown, which had acquired fame by the number of religious suicides. In the actions of these desperate enthusiasts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God, and abhorred by the other as the victims of satan, an impartial philosopher may discover the influence, and the last abuse, of that inflexible spirit,

^{*} The *Histoire des Camisards*, in 3 vol. 12mo. Villefranche, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover the religion of the author.

[†] The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of Razias, which is related in the fourteenth chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

which was originally derived from the character and principles of the jewish nation. CHAP. XXI.

The simple narrative of the intestine divisions, which distracted the peace, and dishonoured the triumph, of the church, will confirm the remark of a pagan historian, and justify the complaint of a venerable bishop. General character of the christian sects. A. D. 312—361. The experience of Ammianus had convinced him, that the enmity of the christians towards each other surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man²; and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically laments, that the kingdom of heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself³. The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing *all* virtue to themselves, and imputing *all* guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and demons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the hostile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the same religion, and the same civil society. Their hopes and fears in the present, or in a future life, were balanced in the same proportion. On either side, the error might be innocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were excited by similar objects; and they might alternately abuse the favour of the court, or of the people. The metaphysical opinions of the Athanasians and the Arians could not influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated by the intolerant spirit, which has been extracted from the pure and simple maxims of the gospel.

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to his own history the honourable epithets of Toleration of paganism.

² Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferale plerique Christianorum expertus. Ammian. xxii. 5.

³ Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. i. p. 33. See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501. 4to. edit.

CHAP.
XXI.

political and philosophical^b, accuses the timid prudence of Montesquieu, for neglecting to enumerate, among the causes of the decline of the empire, a law of Constantine, by which the exercise of the pagan worship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any public religion. The zeal of the philosophic historian for the rights of mankind, has induced him to acquiesce in the ambiguous testimony of those ecclesiastics who have too lightly ascribed to their favourite hero the *merit* of a general persecution^c. Instead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the imperial codes, we may safely appeal to the original epistle which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion, at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion, nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their master; but he declares, that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light, may freely enjoy their temples and their fancied gods. A report that the ceremonies of paganism were suppressed, is formally contradicted by the emperor himself; who wisely assigns, as the principle of his moderation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition^d. Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the

by Constantine,

^b Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Etablissements des Européens dans les deux Indes, tom. i. p. 9.

^c According to Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 45.) the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τὰ μυστὰ τῆς Εἰδωλολατρίας; the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. Socrates (l. i. c. 17.) and Sozomen (l. ii. c. 4, 5.) have represented the conduct of Constantine with a just regard to truth and history; which has been neglected by Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. and Orosius, vii. 28. Tum deinde (says the latter) primus Constantinus *justo ordine et pio* vicem vertit edicto; siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi.

^d See Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 56. 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints, which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters, (c. xi.) that they are permitted to offer sacrifices, and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a christian zeal, were coloured by the fairest pretences of justice, and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wisest of his predecessors, he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnicia, in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practised in the face of day, and to the honour of Venus^e. The imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity: the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying at once their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long since accustomed to endure the same sacrilegious rapine, from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls, who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion^f.

^e See Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 54—58. and l. iv. c. 23—25. These acts of authority may be compared with the suppression of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the temple of Isis, by the magistrates of pagan Rome.

^f Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 54.) and Libanius (Orat. pro Tem-

CHAP. XXI.
and his sons. The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father, with more zeal, and with less discretion. The pretences of rapine and oppression were insensibly multiplied^a; every indulgence was shown to the illegal behaviour of the christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constans and Constantius^b. The name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law, which might have superseded the necessity of any future prohibitions. "It is our pleasure, that in all places, and in all cities, the temples be immediately shut, and carefully guarded, that none may have the power of offending. It is likewise our pleasure, that all our subjects should abstain from sacrifices. If any one should be guilty of such an act, let him feel the sword of vengeance; and after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties against the governors of the provinces, if they neglect to punish the criminalsⁱ." But there is the strongest reason to believe, that this formidable edict was either composed without being

plis, p. 9, 10. edit. Gothofred.) both mention the pious sacrilege of Constantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expressly declares, that "he made use of the sacred money, but made no alteration in the legal worship; the temples indeed were impoverished, but the sacred rites were performed there." Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 140.

^a Ammianus (xxii. 4.) speaks of some court eunuchs, who were spoliis templorum pasti. Libanius says, (Orat. pro Templ. p. 23.) that the emperor often gave away a temple, like a dog, or a horse, or a slave, or a gold cup: but the devout philosopher takes care to observe, that these sacrilegious favourites very seldom prospered.

^b See Gothofred. Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. p. 262; Liban. Orat. Parental. c. x. in Fabric. Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 235.

ⁱ Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos a sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio sternatur: facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et similiter adfligi rectores provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 4. Chronology has discovered some contradiction in the date of this extravagant law; the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magistrates is punished by death and confiscation. M. de la Bastie (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xv. p. 98.) conjectures, with a show of reason, that this was no more than the minutes of a law, the heads of an intended bill, which were found in *Scriniis Memoriarum*, among the papers of Constantius, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy model, in the Theodosian Code.

published, or was published without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of brass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the pagan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. In the east, as well as in the west, in cities, as well as in the country, a great number of temples were respected, or at least were spared; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury of sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions, by the permission, or by the connivance, of the civil government. About four years after the supposed date of his bloody edict, Constantius visited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behaviour is recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of succeeding princes. "That emperor," says Symmachus, "suffered the privileges of the vestal virgins to remain inviolate; he bestowed the sacerdotal dignities on the nobles of Rome, granted the customary allowance to defray the expenses of the public rites and sacrifices: and, though he had embraced a different religion, he never attempted to deprive the empire of the sacred worship of antiquity^k." The senate still presumed to consecrate, by solemn decrees, the *divine* memory of their sovereigns; and Constantine himself was associated, after his death, to those gods whom he had renounced and insulted during his life. The title, the ensigns, the prerogatives of 'sovereign pontiff,' which had been instituted by Numa and assumed by Augustus, were accepted, without hesitation, by seven christian emperors; who were invested with a more absolute authority over the religion which they had deserted, than over that which they professed^l.

^k Symmach. Epistol. x. 54.

^l The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie, sur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains, (in the Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xv. p. 75—144.) is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the state, and proves the toleration, of paganism from Constantine to Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus, that Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical robe, is confirmed beyond a doubt; and the murmurs of bigotry, on that subject, are almost silenced.

CHAP.
XXI.

The divisions of christianity suspended the ruin of *paganism*^m; and the holy war against the infidels was less vigorously prosecuted by princes and bishops, who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of *idolatry*ⁿ might have been justified by the established principles of intolerance: but the hostile sects, which alternately reigned in the imperial court, were mutually apprehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating, the minds of a powerful, though declining faction. Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on the side of christianity; but two or three generations elapsed before their victorious

^m As I have freely anticipated the use of *pagans* and *paganism*, I shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. Πάγῃ, in the Doric dialect, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighbourhood which frequented the same fountain, derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagans*. Festus sub voce, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. ii. 382. 2. By an easy extension of the word, *pagan* and rural became almost synonymous, (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii. 5;) and the meaner rustics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term, (Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 655;) and all the *people* who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of *pagans*. Tacit. Hist. iii. 24. 43. 77; Juvenal. Satir. xvi; Tertullian de Pallio, c. 4. 4. The christians were the soldiers of Christ; their adversaries, who refused his *sacrament*, or military oath of baptism, might deserve the metaphorical name of *pagans*; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A. D. 365.) into imperial laws (Cod. Theodos. i. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18.) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire: the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (advers. Symmachum, l. i. ad fin.) and Orosius, (in Præfat. Hist.) retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of *pagans* has been successively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the old and new world. 7. The Latin christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies the mahometans; and the purest *unitarians* were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and *paganism*. See Gerard Vossius, Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, in his works, tom. i. p. 420; Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 250; and Ducange, mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. Glossar.

ⁿ In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, Εἰδωλον and Λατρεία were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition, (Homer. Odys. xi. 601.) a representation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any sort of *service* or slavery. The jews of Egypt, who translated the Hebrew scriptures, restrained the use of these words (Exod. xx. 4, 5.) to the religious worship of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Hellenists, or Grecian jews, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers; and the reproach of *idolatry* (Εἰδωλολατρεία) has stigmatised that visible and abject mode of superstition, which some sects of christianity should not hastily impute to the polytheists of Greece and Rome.

influence was universally felt. The religion which had so long and so lately been established in the Roman empire was still revered by a numerous people, less attached indeed to speculative opinion than to ancient custom. The honours of the state and army were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a considerable portion of knowledge and wealth and valour was still engaged in the service of polytheism. The superstition of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher, was derived from very different causes; but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was insensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a proscribed sect; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence, that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the barbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

CHAPTER XXII.

JULIAN IS DECLARED EMPEROR BY THE LEGIONS OF GAUL.—HIS MARCH AND SUCCESS.—THE DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF JULIAN.

The jealousy of Constantius against Julian.

WHILE the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeated with transport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Constantius. The barbarians of Germany had felt, and still dreaded, the arms of the young Cæsar; his soldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the blessings of his reign; but the favourites, who had opposed his elevation, were offended by his virtues; and they justly considered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried the efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised with success. They easily discovered, that his simplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy savage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to the dress and person of the philosophic warrior; and his modest despatches were stigmatised as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a speculative soldier, who had studied the art of war amidst the groves of the academy^a. The voice of malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and

^a Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores jam docti, recte consulta prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia sine modo strepentes insulse; in odium venit cum victoriis suis; capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litterionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtutes ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exornantem. Ammianus, xvii. 11.

Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himself was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which according to ancient custom were addressed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius had made his dispositions in person; *he* had signalized his valour in the foremost ranks; *his* military conduct had secured the victory; and the captive king of the barbarians was presented to *him* on the field of battle," from which he was at that time distant above forty days' journey^b. So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even of satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly conscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accompanied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was prepared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants, who coloured their mischievous designs with the fairest appearances of truth and candour^c. Instead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, superior talents, and important services. But they darkly insinuated, that the virtues of the Cæsar might instantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes; if the inconstant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempted from his allegiance by the hopes of revenge, and independent greatness. The personal fears of Constantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public safety; Fears and
envy of
Constantius.

^b Ammian. xvi. 12. The orator Themistius (iv. p. 56, 57.) believed whatever was contained in the imperial letters which were addressed to the senate of Constantinople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgement in the last year of Constantius, ascribes the German victories to the wisdom of the emperor, and the fortune of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was indebted to the favour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue; and the important offices of consular of the second Pannonia, and prefect of the city. Ammian. xxi. 10.

^c Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant.... Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probis omnibus potentiores. See Mamertin. in Actione Gratiarum in Vet. Panegy. xi. 5, 6.

CHAP.
XXII.

The legions
of Gaul are
ordered to
march into
the east.
A. D. 360.
April.

whilst in private, and perhaps in his own breast, he disguised, under the less odious appellation of fear, the sentiments of hatred and envy which he had secretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the eastern provinces, offered a specious pretence for the design which was artfully concerted by the imperial ministers. They resolved to disarm the Cæsar; to recall those faithful troops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ, in a distant war against the Persian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hours of his winter quarters at Paris in the administration of power, which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprised by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary; with positive orders from the emperor, which *they* were directed to execute, and *he* was commanded not to oppose. Constantius signified his pleasure, that four entire legions, the Celtæ and Petulants, the Heruli and the Batavians, should be separated from the standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the bravest youths should be selected; and that this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army, should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmost diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Persia^d. The Cæsar foresaw and lamented the consequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary service, had stipulated that they should never be obliged to pass the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the personal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the

^d The minute interval, which may be interposed between the *hyeme ad-ulta* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus, (xx. 1. 4.) instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect.

observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppression would destroy the confidence, and excite the resentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlisted for the general defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning deserts of Asia. They claimed as their own the country which they had saved; and excused their want of spirit, by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As soon as the provinces were exhausted of their military strength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been imposed on their fears; and notwithstanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, must find himself, after a vain resistance, either a prisoner in the camp of the barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own destruction, and that of a people who deserved his affection. But a positive refusal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology or candid interpretation; and the dependent station of the Cæsar scarcely allowed him to pause or to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian: he could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust, who had been removed from his office by the judicious ma-

CHAP.
XXII.

lice of the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his representations by the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been afraid, or ashamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had been chosen, when Lupicinus*, the general of the cavalry, was despatched into Britain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the assessment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman, declining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous occasion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of Julian, who represented to him, that, in every important measure, the presence of the prefect was indispensable in the council of the prince. In the mean while the Cæsar was oppressed by the rude and importunate solicitations of the imperial messengers, who presumed to suggest, that if he expected the return of his ministers, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay, and reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to resist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious terms, his wish, and even his intention, of resigning the purple, which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

Their dis-
contents.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject, and that the sovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite their pity by silent despair,

* Ammianus, xx. 1. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acknowledged by the historian, who, in his affected language, accuses the general of exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt whether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts was so serious, that Julian himself had some thoughts of passing over into the island.

or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. This scene of general distress afflicted the humanity of the Cæsar: he granted a sufficient number of post-waggons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers¹, endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased, by the most laudable arts, his own popularity, and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a seasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted, in lively colours, the disgrace of the Cæsar, the oppression of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of Constantius were astonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian; who proposed that they should not march through Paris, and suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

As soon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæsar went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After distinguishing the officers and soldiers who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the surrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applause; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of serving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal mon-

They proclaim Julian emperor.

¹ He granted them the permission of the *cursus clavularis*, or *clabularis*. These post-waggons are often mentioned in the code, and were supposed to carry fifteen hundred pounds weight. See Vales. ad Ammian. xx. 4.

CHAP.
XXII.

arch; and admonished them, that the commands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedience. The soldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their sentiments by false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence; and, after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæsar, who professed, in the warmest language of friendship, his desire and his inability to reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of his victories. They retired from the feast, full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly moulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of complaint were heightened by passion, and their passions were inflamed by wine; as, on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with swords, and bows, and torches in their hands, rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace^s; and, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whose anxious suspense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, secured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was in

^s Most probably the palace of the baths, (*thermarum*), of which a solid and lofty hall still subsists in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a considerable space of the modern quarter of the university; and the gardens, under the Merovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By the injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the twelfth century, to a maze of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of licentious love.

Explicat aula sinus, montemque amplectitur alis;
Multiplici latebra scelerum tersura ruborem.

..... pereuntis sæpe pudoris

Celatura nefas, Venerisque accommoda furtis.

(These lines are quoted from the *Architrenius*, l. iv. c. 8. a poetical work of John de Hauteville, or Hanville, a monk of St. Albans, about the year 1190. See Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. dissert. ii.) Yet such *thefts* might be less pernicious to mankind, than the theological disputes of the Sorbonne, which have been since agitated on the same ground. Bonamy, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xv. p. 678—682.

his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the soldiers, whose zeal was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, seized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts saluted him as their emperor. Prudence, as well as loyalty, inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs; and of preparing for his oppressed virtue the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he sometimes implored their mercy, and sometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæsar sustained, till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly assured, that if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem^b; the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative^c; and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment^d.

^b Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony; and obstinately refused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

^c An equal proportion of gold and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

^d For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and

CHAP.
XXII.His protest-
ations of
innocence.

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful¹ in the eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the professions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible of the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the respective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to ascertain the principles of action which might escape the observation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the steps of Julian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by the malice of his enemies; their tumult was the natural effect of interest and of passion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep design under the appearances of chance, he must have employed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and probably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that, till the close of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers^m; and it may seem ungenerous to distrust the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence that Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the favourite, of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, and even to hasten the auspicious moment of his reign, which was predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, he re-

original materials; Julian himself, (ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 282, 283, 284.) Libanius, (Orat. Parental. c. 44—48. in Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vii. p. 269—273.) Ammianus, (xx. 4.) and Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 151, 152, 153.) who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides, we might neglect the abreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

¹ Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, “consensu militum,” x. 15. Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, ἀτθάδεια, ἀπόνοια, ἀσέβεια. Orat. iii. p. 67.

^m Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284. The devout abbé de la Bletterie (Vie de Julien, p. 169.) is almost inclined to respect the devout protestations of a pagan.

signed himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related to his friends, that he had seen the genius of the empire waiting with some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and reproaching his want of spirit and ambition^a. Astonished and perplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter, who immediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he should submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason, excites our suspicion and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the spirit of fanaticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated itself into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies^a, to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and imperial pomp, Julian showed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly, till he had obtained a solemn pro-

His embassy to
Constantius.

^a Ammian. xx. 5. with the note of Lindenbrogius on the genius of the empire. Julian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius, (Epist. xvii. p. 384.) mentions another dream, to which, before the event, he gave credit; of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant striking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of the Cæsar must have been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 155.) relates a subsequent dream.

^o The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus, Hist. l. 80—85. But Otho had much more guilt, and much less abilities, than Julian.

CHAP.
XXII.

mise from the troops, that if the emperor of the east would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle ^P, which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions, of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits, in a peremptory though respectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a pretorian prefect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those venal flatterers who subsist only by the discord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic and to the house of Constantine. In this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already possessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was still obeyed under a name more independent and august. The soldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupi-

^P To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, *objurgatorias et mordaces*, which the historian had not seen, and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

cinus a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new government were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices were distributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince who despised the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the soldiers^a.

CHAP.
XXII.

The negotiations of peace were accompanied and supported by the most vigorous preparations for war. The army which Julian held in readiness for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, submitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the person and government of Constantius^c. As soon as the season of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, who presumed that they might ravage with impunity the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterprise, consisted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into a country which former princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the barbarians, the emperor carefully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Basil; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through Besançon^d,

His fourth
and fifth
expeditions
beyond the
Rhine.

A. D.
360, 361.

^a See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 286; Ammian. xx. 5. 8; Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50. p. 273—275.

^c Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50. p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it continued above seven years. In the factions of the Greek republics, the exiles amounted to twenty thousand persons; and Isocrates assures Philip, that it would be easier to raise an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Essays, tom. i. p. 426, 427.

^d Julian (Epist. xxxviii. p. 414.) gives a short description of Vesontio, or Besançon: a rocky peninsula almost encircled by the river Doux; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, etc. now reduced to a small town, emerging however from its ruins.

CHAP.
XXII.

which had severely suffered from their fury, and fixed his head quarters at Vienna for the ensuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained some hopes that the Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair^t was the only prince of the Alemanni whom he esteemed or feared; and while the subtle barbarian affected to observe the faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the state with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors, was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing the river, renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions^u.

Fruitless
treaty and
declaration
of war.
A. D. 361.

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute, with the utmost diligence, their important commission. But, in their passage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by slow journeys from Constantinople to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the despatches of his own officers, the most unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and contempt; and

^t Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phœnicia. He still retained the same artful character, (Ammian. xxi. 4.) but, under the reign of Valens, he signalized his valour in the Armenian war; xxix. 1.

^u Ammian. xx. 10. xxi. 3, 4; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 155.

the looks, the gestures, the furious language of the monarch, expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic connection, which might have reconciled the brother and the husband of Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and was at last fatal to herself*. The empress Eusebia had preserved to the last moment of her life the warm, and even jealous, affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the resentment of a prince, who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required, that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and, as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adver-

* Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*. Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his hero from a very absurd charge; of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice, 1754, from a manuscript in St. Mark's library, p. 117—127. Elpidius, the pretorian prefect of the east, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius, as *effeminate* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerome, tom. i. p. 243. and his humanity by Ammianus, xxi. 6.

sary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæstor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic, which you have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan. "An orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions. "Does the assassin of my family reproach me that I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those injuries, which I have long studied to forget." The assembly was dismissed; and Leonas, who with some difficulty had been protected from the popular fury, was sent back to his master, with an epistle, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment, which had been suppressed and imbibed by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcilable war, Julian, who, some weeks before, had celebrated the christian festival of the Epiphany^y, made a public declaration that he com-

^y *Feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Jannario, Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. xxi. 2.* Zonaras observes, that it was on Christmas-day, and his assertion is not inconsistent; since the churches of Egypt, Asia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the same day (the sixth of January,) the nativity and the baptism of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the

mitted the care of his safety to the *immortal gods*; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantius².

CHAP.
XXII.

The situation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered, from intercepted letters, that his adversary, sacrificing the interest of the state to that of the monarch, had again excited the barbarians to invade the provinces of the west. The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour³, was a threatening evidence of the strength and numbers of the enemy who prepared to surround him. But the imperial legions were still in their distant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a sudden incursion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers would resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold and silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. He proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; inspired them with a just confidence in their general and in themselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, of being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow citizens, and obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was received with the loudest ac-

Julian prepares to attack Constantius.

real date of his birth, fixed the solemn festival to the twenty-fifth of December, the *Brumalia*, or winter solstice, when the pagans annually celebrated the birth of the sun. See Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, l. xx. c. 4. and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 690—700.

² The public and secret negociations between Constantius and Julian, must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself, (*Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 286;) Libanius, (*Orat. Parent.* c. 51. p. 276;) Ammianus, (xx. 9;) Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 154;) and even Zonaras, (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 20, 21, 22;) who, on this occasion, appears to have possessed and used some valuable materials.

³ Three hundred myriads, or three millions of *medimni*, a corn measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. Julian explains, like a soldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and advantages of an offensive war (*ad S. P. Q. Athen.* p. 286, 287.)

CHAP.
XXII.

clamations; and the same troops which had taken up arms against Constantius, when he summoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe or Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the soldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords to their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, to the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans^b. This solemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection rather than by duty, was singly opposed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of pretorian prefect. That faithful minister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantius in the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury he had almost fallen an honourable but useless sacrifice. After losing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the prefect with his imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with less respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy^c. The high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallust; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable administration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practise those virtues which he had instilled into the mind of his pupil^d.

His march
from the
Rhine into
Illyricum.

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterprise, he

^b See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammian. xxi. 5.

^c He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant prefect; whom he sent into Tuscany. Ammian. xxi. 5. Libanius, with savage fury, insults Nebridius, applauds the soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian. Orat. Parent. c. 53. p. 278.

^d Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself: Neque civilis quisquam judex nec militaris rector, alio quodam præter merita suffragante, ad potiozem veniat gradum. Ammian. xx. 5. Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A. D. 363.) he honoured the consulship.

availed himself of every precaution, as far as prudence could suggest; and where prudence could no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Basil he assembled and divided his army*. One body, which consisted of ten thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rhætia and Noricum. A similar division of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique course of the highways, through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were conceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march in close and compact columns, which, according to the disposition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to secure themselves against the surprises of the night by strong posts and vigilant guards; to prevent resistance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their sudden departure; to spread the opinion of their strength, and the terror of his name; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself, Julian had reserved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He selected three thousand brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band, he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian, or black forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube†; and for many days the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct

* Ammianus (xxi. 8.) ascribes the same practice, and the same motive, to Alexander the great, and other skilful generals.

† This wood was a part of the great Hercynian forest, which in the time of Cæsar, stretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Basil) into the boundless regions of the north. See Cluver. *Germania Antiqua*, l. iii. c. 47.

course^s, without reflecting whether he traversed the territory of the Romans or of the barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he designed to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted stratagem, he seized a fleet of light brigantines^h, as it lay at anchor; secured a supply of coarse provisions, sufficient to satisfy the indelicate but voracious appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant diligence, and the steady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above seven hundred miles in eleven daysⁱ; and he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the course of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterprise; and though he accepted the deputations of some cities, which hastened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation of signalizing an useless and ill-timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and

^s Compare Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 53. p. 278, 279, with Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 68. Even the saint admires the speed and secrecy of this march. A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian, the lines which were originally designed for another apostate:

So eagerly the fiend,
O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

^h In that interval the *Notitia* places two or three fleets, the *Lauriacensis*, (at Lauriacum, or Lorch,) the *Arlapensis*, the *Maginensis*; and mentions five legions, or cohorts, of *Liburnarii*, who should be a sort of marines *Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.*

ⁱ Zosimus alone (*l. iii. p. 156.*) has specified this interesting circumstance. Mamertinus (in *Panegy. Vet.* xi. 6, 7, 8.) who accompanied Julian as count of the sacred largesses, describes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, challenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, etc.

diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the west. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and irresolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops; when he was surprised by Dagaiaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forwards with some light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stupify his faculties. But Lucilian had no sooner recovered his spirits, than he betrayed his want of discretion, by presuming to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantius these timid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a smile of contempt: "when I gave you my purple to kiss, I received you not as a counsellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that success alone could justify his attempt, and that boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of three thousand soldiers, to attack the strongest and most populous city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long suburb of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged sovereign to his imperial residence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the circus; but early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succia, in the defiles of mount Hæmus; which, almost in the midway between Sirmium and Constantinople, sepa-

CHAP.
XXII.

rates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the side of the latter^k. The defence of this important post was intrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their master had so ably conceived^l.

He justifies
his cause.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms^m. The prefectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and as those magistrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatised their flight by adding, in all the acts of the year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naissus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct; published the secret despatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgement of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the barbariansⁿ. Julian, whose mind was deeply

^k The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence, ascertains the precise situation of the *Angustie Succorum*, or passes of *Succi*. M. d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sardica and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *only* error which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer.

^l Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10.) still supplies the series of the narrative.

^m Ammian. xxi. 9, 10; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 54. p. 279, 280; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 156, 157.

ⁿ Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286.) positively asserts, that he intercepted the letters of Constantius to the barbarians: and Libanius as positively affirms, that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities.

wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens^o seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm; which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the senate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Tertullus, prefect of the city; the epistle of Julian was read; and as he appeared to be master of Italy, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed, "Respect, we beseech you, the author of your own fortune^p:" an artful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession, that a single act of such benefit to the state ought to atone for all the failings of Constantius.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by Hostile preparations,

Yet Ammianus (xxi. 4.) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation: *Si famæ solius admittenda est fides*. He specifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them: "*Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet.*"

^o Zosimus mentions his epistles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The substance was probably the same, though the address was properly varied. The epistle to the Athenians is still extant (p. 268—287.) and has afforded much valuable information. It deserves the praises of the abbé de la Bleterie, (Pref. à l'Histoire de Jovien, p. 24, 25.) and is one of the best manifestoes to be found in any language.

^p *Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus*. Ammian. xxi. 10. It is amusing enough to observe the secret conflicts of the senate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hist. i. 85.

the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chace to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party^q. In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army; slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Cæsar; and ventured to assure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul presumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes, and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause; and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel^r. A chosen detachment was despatched away in post-waggon, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Succ; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the subsistence of Rome was intercepted; and the distress of Julian was increased by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops which had been distinguished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier,

^q Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet: hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde prædicabat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

^r See the speech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodotus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of diminishing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends: xxii. 14.

to dismiss them from the most important scene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and the savage fierceness of the Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Constantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the mischief, and the necessity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the siege of Aquileia was formed with diligence, and prosecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of discipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and perseverance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers of the armies of the east[†].

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying, or of being himself destroyed: and the seasonable death of Constantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire of revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by the agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the journey; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, after a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign[†]. His genuine character, which was

and death
of Constantius.
A. D. 361.
Novem. 3.

* Ammian. xxi. 7. 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labour, the operations of the siege of Aquileia, which, on this occasion, maintained its impregnable fame. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 68.) ascribes this accidental revolt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some appearance of truth. Constantio quem credebatur proculdubio fore victorem: nemo enim omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepebat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

† His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus, (xxi.

CHAP.
XXII.

composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelty, has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil and ecclesiastical events. The long abuse of power rendered him a considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the last of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities of his father. Before Constantius expired, he is said to have named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his last moments, over the harsher passions of hatred and revenge. Eusebius, and his guilty associates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs by the election of another emperor: but their intrigues were rejected with disdain by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil discord; and two officers of rank were instantly despatched, to assure Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn for his service. The military designs of that prince, who had formed three different attacks against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naissus through the mountains of Hæmus and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the distance of sixty miles, all Constantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry, amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate. An innumerable multitude pressed around him with eager respect; and were perhaps disap-

Julian enters Constantinople, Decem. 11.

14, 15, 16.) and we are authorised to despise and detest the foolish calumny of Gregory, (Orat. iii. p. 68.) who accuses Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. The private repentance of the emperor, that he had spared and promoted Julian, (p. 69. and Orat. xxi. p. 389.) is not improbable in itself, nor incompatible with the public verbal testament, which prudential considerations might dictate in the last moments of his life.

pointed when they beheld the small stature and simple garb of a hero, whose unexperienced youth had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Bosphorus". A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceased emperor were landed in the harbour, the subjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the holy apostles, where the body was deposited: and if these marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to the birth and dignity of his imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian professed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from Constantius². As soon as the legions of Aquileia were assured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-second year of his age, acquired the undisputed possession of the Roman empire³.

and is acknowledged by the whole empire.

Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at first by the will, and afterwards by the injustice, of Constan-

His civil government and private life.

² In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2.) assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet; while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56. p. 281.) sinks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

³ The funeral of Constantius is described by Ammianus, xxi. 16; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 119; Mamertinus, in Panegy. Vet. xi. 27; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. lvi. p. 283; and Philostorgius, l. vi. c. 6. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 265. These writers, and their followers, pagans, catholics, Arians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

⁴ The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly ascertained. The day is probably the sixth of November, and the year must be either 331 or 332. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 693; Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 50. I have preferred the earlier date.

tius, to expose his person and fame to the dangers of imperial greatness; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to posterity, for the happiness of millions^a. Julian recollected with terror the observation of his master Plato^b, that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations requires and deserves the celestial powers of the gods or of the genii. From this principle he justly concluded, that the man who presumes to reign, should aspire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal and terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, enlighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue the wild beast, which, according to the lively metaphor of Aristotle^c, seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends^c, who had often shared the frugal simplicity of

^a Julian himself (p. 253—267.) has expressed these philosophical ideas, with much eloquence, and some affectation, in a very elaborate epistle to Themistius. The abbé de la Bleterie (tom. ii. p. 146—193.) who has given an elegant translation, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations are still extant.

^b Julian ad Themist. p. 258. Petavius (not. p. 95.) observes, that this passage is taken from the fourth book de Legibus; but either Julian quoted from memory, or his manuscripts were different from ours. Xenophon opens the Cyropædia with a similar reflection.

^c Ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπων κελύων ἄρχειν, προστίθῃσι καὶ θηρίον. Aristot. ap. Julian. p. 261. The manuscript of Vossius, unsatisfied with a single beast, affords the stronger reading of θηρία, which the experience of despotism may warrant.

^c Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. lxxxiv. lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312.) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in Misopogon, p. 350.) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

his table, has remarked, that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day, he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in shorthand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate; and pursue at once three several trains of ideas, without hesitation, and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal; his sleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion^d. He was soon awakened by the entrance of fresh secretaries, who had slept the preceding day; and his servants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable master allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the change of occupations. The predeces-

^d *Lectulus* . . . *Vestaliū toris purior*, is the praise which Mamertinus (Panegy. Vet. xi. 13.) addresses to Julian himself. Libanius affirms, in sober peremptory language, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage, or after the death of his wife. Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. p. 313. The chastity of Julian is confirmed by the impartial testimony of Ammianus (xxv. 4.) and the partial silence of the christians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch, that he *almost always* (*ὡς ἐπείαν*, in Misopogon. p. 345.) lay alone. This suspicious expression is explained by the abbé de la Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 103—109.) with candour and ingenuity.

sors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the games of the circus, under the specious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a part of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races* was completely finished. On solemn festivals, Julian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these frivolous amusements, condescended to appear in the circus; and after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, he hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who considered every moment as lost, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind^f. By this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign; and if the dates were less securely ascertained, we should refuse to believe, that only sixteen months elapsed between the death of Constantius and the departure of his successor for the Persian war. The actions of Julian can only be preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of his voluminous writings which is still extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and his elaborate work against the christian religion, were composed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed at Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

December,
A. D. 361.
March,
A. D. 363.

Reformation
of the
palace.

The reformation of the imperial court was one of the

* See Salmasius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. 21. A twenty-fifth race, or *missus*, was added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the four colours, started each heat:

Centum quadrijugos agitato ad flumina currus.

It appears that they ran five or seven times round the *meta*, (Sueton. in Domitian. c. 4.) and, from the measure of the circus maximus at Rome, the hippodrome at Constantinople, etc. it might be about a four-mile course.

^f Julian in Misopogon, p. 340. Julius Cæsar had offended the Roman people by reading his despatches during the actual race. Augustus indulged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business of the circus, for which he professed the warmest inclination. Sueton. in August. c. 44.

first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian^g. Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances^h." He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that besides a large salary, and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants, and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only to the insects of a summer's dayⁱ. The monarch who resigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue, was distinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by Constantine and his sons, were decorated with many-coloured marbles, and ornaments of massy gold. The most exquisite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taste; birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses, and summer snows^k. The domestic crowd of the palace surpassed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendour, of the throne. The monarch was disgraced, and the people was in-

^g The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus, xxii. 4; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, etc.; Mamertinus, in Panegy. Vet. xi. 11; Socrates, l. iii. c. i; and Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 24.

^h *Ego non rationalem jussi sed tonsorem acciri.* Zonaras uses the less natural image of a senator. Yet an officer of the finances, who was satiated with wealth, might desire and obtain the honours of the senate.

ⁱ Μαγείρους μὲν χίλιους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη, τραπεζοποιῶν, εὐνοῦχους ὑπὲρ τὰς μυρίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμήσι ἐν ἡρί, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, lest I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

^k The expressions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. *Quin etiam prandiorum et cœnarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus sensit; cum quæsitissimæ dapes non gustu sed difficultatibus æstimarentur; miracula avium, longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, æstivæ nives, hybernæ rosæ.*

jured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and perquisites, which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from those who feared their enmity or solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty menials. They abused their fortune, without considering their past or their future condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipations. Their silken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they built for their own use, would have covered the farm of an ancient consul; and the most honourable citizens were obliged to dismount from their horses, and respectfully to salute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who usually slept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indispensable calls of nature; and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the distress, and to appease the murmurs, of the people; who support with less uneasiness the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are appropriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this salutary work, Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste and inconsiderate severity. By a single edict, he reduced the palace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with ignominy the whole train of slaves and dependents¹, without providing any just, or at least be-

¹ Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the eunuchs. Orat. vii. against Polyclet. p. 117—127. Libanius contents himself with a cold but positive denial of the fact, which seems indeed to be-

nevolent, exceptions, for the age, the services, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the imperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who seldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite vices. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the curls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared so ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently rejected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed to value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a satirical performance, which was designed for the public eye, the emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the inky blackness of his hands; protests, that although the greatest part of his body was covered with hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with visible complacency, the shaggy and *populous*^m beard, which he fondly cherished, after the example of the philosophers of Greece. Had Julian consulted the simple dictates of reason, the first magistrate of the Romans would have scorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuses, without punishing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign. "We are now delivered," says he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are now surprisingly delivered from the voracious jaws of the

Chamber of
justice.

long more properly to Constantius. This charge, however, may allude to some unknown circumstance.

^m In the *Misopogon* (p. 338, 339.) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic: *αὐτὸς προσεθείκα τὸν βαθὺν τουτοῦ πώγωνα . . . τὰυτὰ τοὶ διαθκόντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθείρων ὅσπερ ἐν λόχῃ τῶν θηρίων*. The friends of the abbé de la Bleterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to translate this passage, so offensive to their delicacy. *Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 94. Like him, I have contented myself with a transient allusion; but the little animal which Julian names, is a beast familiar to man, and signifies love.

hydra^a. I do not mean to apply that epithet to my brother Constantius. He is no more; may the earth lie light on his head! But his artful and cruel favourites studied to deceive and exasperate a prince, whose natural mildness cannot be praised without some efforts of adulation. It is not, however, my intention, that even those men should be oppressed: they are accused, and they shall enjoy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial.” To conduct this enquiry, Julian named six judges of the highest rank in the state and army; and, as he wished to escape the reproach of condemning his personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and transferred to the commissioners an absolute power to pronounce and execute their final sentence, without delay, and without appeal. The office of president was exercised by the venerable prefect of the east, a *second* Sallust^o, whose virtues conciliated the esteem of Greek sophists and of christian bishops. He was assisted by the eloquent Mamertinus^p, one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculan bands encompassed the tribunal; and the

^a Julian, epist. xxiii. p. 389. He uses the words πολυκέφαλον ὕδραν, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

^o The two Sallusts, the prefect of Gaul and the prefect of the east, must be carefully distinguished. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696. I have used the surname of *Secundus* as a convenient epithet. The second Sallust extorted the esteem of the christians themselves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues, Orat. iii. p. 90. See a curious note of the abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

^p Mamertinus praises the emperor (xi. 1.) for bestowing the offices of treasurer and prefect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, etc. like himself. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1.) among the ministers of Julian, quorum merita nôrat et fidem.

judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction⁹. CHAP.
XXII.

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus^r) appeared to weep over the fate of Ursulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the prefecture and consulship^s, Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his

⁹ The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus, *xxii.* 3. and praised by Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 74. p. 299, 300.

^r *Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur fletisse justitia.* Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the largesses.

^s Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth, that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulship of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment^t. Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the pretorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius^u duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so unskilfully managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. The rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppressed, or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which, on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which seemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly redemanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally bestowed: he foresaw the endless prosecution of vexatious suits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constanti-

^t Ammian. xx. 7.

^u For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian, Epist. x. p. 379. and Ammianus, xxii. 6. and Vales. ad loc. The merit of Artemius, who demolished temples, and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But as ecclesiastical history attests, that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian, it is not altogether easy to justify this indiscreet promotion. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 1319.

noble; and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till, their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country^{*}.

CHAP.
XXII.

The numerous army of spies, of agents, and informers, enlisted by Constantius to secure the repose of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his generous successor. Julian was slow in his suspicions, and gentle in his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result of judgement, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior merit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to seat themselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse the hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the ambitious projects, which surpassed the fortune or the abilities of the rash conspirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own use a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, which, under the reign of Constantius, would have been considered as a capital offence[†], was reported to Julian by the officious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after making some enquiry into the rank and character of his rival, despatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple slippers, to complete the magnificence of his imperial habit. A more dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the domestic guards, who had resolved to assassinate Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the presence of their injured sove-

Clemency
of Julian.

^{*} See Ammian. xxii. 6. and Vales. ad locum; and the Codex Theodosianus, l. ii. tit. xxxix. leg. 1; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 218. ad locum.

[†] The president Montesquieu (*Considérations sur la Grandeur, etc. des Romains*, c. xiv. in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449.) excuses this minute and absurd tyranny, by supposing, that actions the most indifferent in our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English laws,—“chez une nation . . . où il est défendu de boire à la santé d'une certaine personne.”

CHAP.
XXII.

reign, who, after a lively representation of the wickedness and folly of their enterprise, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal offenders. The only instance in which Julian seemed to depart from his accustomed clemency, was the execution of a rash youth, who with a feeble hand had aspired to seize the reins of empire. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the first campaign of the Gallic war, had deserted the standard of the Cæsar and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his personal resentment, Julian might easily confound the crime of the son and of the father; but he was reconciled by the distress of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of justice^a.

His love of
freedom,
and the
republic.

Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom^a. From his studies he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes: his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and when he ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortified by the reflection, that the slaves who would not dare to censure his defects, were not worthy to applaud his virtues^b. He sincerely abhorred the system of oriental despotism, which Diocletian, Constantine, and the patient habits of fourscore years, had established in the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem^c: but he absolutely refused the title of

^a The clemency of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his life at Antioch, are described by Ammianus, xxii. 9, 10. and Vales. ad loc. and Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 99. p. 323.

^b According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themist. p. 261.) the form of absolute government, the *παμβασιλεία*, is contrary to nature. Both the prince and the philosopher choose, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obscurity.

^c That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian himself. Ammian. xxii. 10.

^d Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95. p. 320.) who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates, in mysterious language (*θείων οὕτω γνόγων*)

dominus, or *lord*^d, a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name of consul, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the same behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at break of day, the new consuls, Mamertinus and Nevitta, hastened to the palace to salute the emperor. As soon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or secretly blamed a conduct which, in their eyes, degraded the majesty of the purple^e. But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly supported. During the games of the circus, he had, imprudently or designedly, performed the manumission of a slave in the presence of the consul. The moment he was reminded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of *another* magistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the world, that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, to the laws^f, and even to the forms, of the

.... ἀλλ' ἦν ἀμείνων ὁ κωλύων,) that the emperor was restrained by some particular revelation.

^d Julian in Misopogon, p. 343. As he never abolished, by any public law, the proud appellations of *despot*, or *dominus*, they are still extant on his medals; Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 38, 39: and the private displeasure which he affected to express, only gave a different tone to the servility of the court. The abbé de la Bleterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 99—102.) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *dominus* under the imperial government.

^e Ammian. xxii. 7. The consul Mamertinus (in *Panegy. Vet.* xi. 28, 29, 30.) celebrates the auspicious day, like an eloquent slave, astonished and intoxicated by the condescension of his master.

^f Personal satire was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables:

Si male condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est,
Judiciumque.

Julian (in *Misopogon*, p. 337.) owns himself subject to the law; and the

CHAP.
XXII.

His care of
the Grecian
cities.

republic. The spirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constantinople, the same honours, privileges, and authority which were still enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome^a. A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the national council had migrated into the east: and the despotic successors of Julian, accepting the title of senators, acknowledged themselves the members of a respectable body, which was permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. From Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, by repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their country; and by imposing an equal distribution of public duties, he restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the glowing expression of Libanius^b, the soul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of Greece excited the most tender compassion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods, the heroes, and the men superior to heroes and to gods, who had bequeathed to the latest posterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus^c. Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again rising from her ruins with the

abbé de la Bleterie (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. ii. p. 92.) has eagerly embraced a declaration so agreeable to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit, of the imperial constitution.

^a Zosimus, l. iii. p. 168.

^b Ἡ τῆς βουλῆς ἰσχὺς ψυχὴ πόλεως ἵστίον. See Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 71. p. 296; Ammianus, xxii. 9; and the Theodosian Code, l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50—55; with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. iv. p. 390—402. Yet the whole subject of the *Curia*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in the legal history of the empire.

^c Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, mundari, madere; fora, deambulacra, gymnasia, lætis et gaudentibus populis frequentari; dies festos, et celebrari veteres et novos in honorem principis consecrari. Mamertin. xi. 9. He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac games, which had been instituted by Augustus.

honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolence of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems to have consulted only the interest of the capital in which he resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian^k allowed the cause to be referred to a superior tribunal; and his eloquence was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence of a city which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon^l, and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors^m.

The laborious administration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequently assumed the two characters of oratorⁿ and of judge^o, which are almost unknown to the modern

Julian an
orator and
a judge.

^k Julian. Epist. xxxv. p. 407—411. This epistle, which illustrates the declining age of Greece, is omitted by the abbé de la Bletterie; and strangely disfigured by the Latin translator, who, by rendering *ἀτέλεια* *tributum*, and *ἰδιώται* *populus*, directly contradicts the sense of the original.

^l He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, from Argos: but those cities, which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Greek poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 579. edit. Amstel. 1707.

^m Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and Hercules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict enquiry by the judges of the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22.) at a time when the Macedonian kings were obscure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achaean league declared against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire. T. Liv. xxxii. 22.

ⁿ His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius, (Orat. Parent. c. 75, 76. p. 300, 301.) who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1.) has rashly asserted, that Julian was the only prince, since Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Nero, (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3.) and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved by various examples that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

^o Ammianus (xxii. 10.) has impartially stated the merits and defects of

sovereigns of Europe. The arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first Cæsars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Asiatic pride of their successors; and if they condescended to harangue the soldiers, whom they feared, they treated with silent disdain the senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the senate, which Constantius had avoided, were considered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practised, as in a school of declamation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the study of Homer taught him to imitate the simple, concise style of Menelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended like the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are sometimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised by Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement; and although he might have trusted the integrity and discernment of his pretorian prefects, he often placed himself by their side on the seat of judgement. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts, and to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot the gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable questions, and betrayed by the loudness of his voice and the agitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he maintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends and ministers; and whenever

his judicial proceedings. Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 90, 91. p. 315, etc.) has seen only the fair side; and his picture, if it flatters the person, expresses at least the duties, of the judge. Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* iv. p. 120.) who suppresses the virtues, and exaggerates even the venial faults, of the apostate, triumphantly asks, whether such a judge was fit to be seated between Minos and Rhadamanthus in the Elysian fields.

they ventured to oppose the irregular sallies of his passions, the spectators could observe the shame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almost always founded on the principles of justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two most dangerous temptations which assault the tribunal of a sovereign, under the specious forms of compassion and equity. He decided the merits of the cause without weighing the circumstances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, were condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealthy adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from the legislator^p; and though he meditated a necessary reformation of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentence according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws, which the magistrates were bound to execute, and the subjects to obey.

CHAP.
XXII.

The generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple, and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in some measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intense application, he would have obtained, or at least he would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession; and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister, or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the por-

His character.

^p Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of sixteen months, fifty-four have been admitted into the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64—67. The abbé de la Bleterie (tom. ii. p. 329—336.) has chosen one of these laws to give an idea of Julian's Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate, but less pure than his Greek.

CHAP.
XXII.

trait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar; nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus. The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no distinction between his duties and his pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to revive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknowledge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the world⁹.

⁹ ——— Ductor fortissimus armis; .
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manūque
Consultor patriæ; sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis; amans tercentum millia divūm.
Perfidus ille deo, sed non et perfidus orbi.

Prudent. Apotheosis, 450, etc.

The consciousness of a generous sentiment seems to have raised the christian poet above his usual mediocrity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RELIGION OF JULIAN.—UNIVERSAL TOLERATION.—

HE ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE AND REFORM THE PAGAN
WORSHIP—TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

—HIS ARTFUL PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.—
MUTUAL ZEAL AND INJUSTICE.

THE character of apostate has injured the reputation of Julian; and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome, constituted the ruling passion of Julian^a; the powers of an enlightened un-

Religion of
Julian.

^a I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the imperial pontiff composed to censure the bold impiety of a cynic: 'Αλλ' ὅμως οὕτω δὴ τί τοῦς θεοὺς πεφρίκα, καὶ φιλῶ, καὶ σέβω, καὶ ἀίρωμαι, καὶ πάνθ' ἀπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάσχω, ὅσπερ ἂν τις καὶ οἷα πρὸς ἀγάθους δέσποτας, πρὸς διδάσκαλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας :

CHAP.
XXIII.

derstanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the christians, who despised the worship, and overturned the altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a state of irreconcilable hostility with a very numerous party of his subjects; and he was sometimes tempted, by the desire of victory, or the shame of a repulse, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of justice. The triumph of the party which he deserted and opposed, has fixed a stain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unsuccessful apostate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the signal was given by the sonorous trumpet^b of Gregory Nazianzen^c. The interesting nature of the events which were crowded into the short reign of this active emperor, deserve a just and circumstantial narrative. His motives, his counsels, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the history of religion, will be the subject of the present chapter.

His education and apostasy.

The cause of his strange and fatal apostasy may be derived from the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. The care of his infancy was

Orat. vii. p. 212. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seems inadequate to the fervour of his devotion.

^b The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead; and above all, to the great Constantius, (*εἰ τις αἰσθησῶς*, an odd pagan expression.) He concludes with a bold assurance, that he has erected a monument not less durable, and much more portable, than the columnus of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50. iv. p. 134.

^c See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations, in Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49—134. Paris, 1630. It was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (iv. p. 133.) about six months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarsus, (iv. p. 120;) but while Jovian was still on the throne: iii. p. 54. iv. p. 117. I have derived much assistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

intrusted to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia^d, who was related to him on the side of his mother; and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his christian preceptors the education not of a hero, but of a saint. The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly than of an earthly crown, contented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages of baptism^e on the nephews of Constantine^f. They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order; and Julian publicly read the holy scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion^g. They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the splendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæsarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian^h. They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascetic lifeⁱ. As the two princes advanced

^d Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat. Ammian. xxii. 9. Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of education, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion, of Homer. Misopogon, p. 351, 352.

^e Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the blood, perhaps of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 361, No. 3, 4.

^f Julian himself (Epist. li. p. 454.) assures the Alexandrians that he had been a christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

^g See his christian, and even ecclesiastical education, in Gregory, iii. p. 58; Socrates, l. iii. c. 1; and Sozomen, l. v. c. 2. He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

^h The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus, was prosecuted with vigour and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

ⁱ The philosopher (Fragment, p. 288.) ridicules the iron chains, etc. of these solitary fanatics, (see Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 661, 662.) who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, ἀνθρώπου

CHAP.
XXIII.

towards the years of manhood, they discovered in their religious sentiments the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of christianity; which never influenced his conduct, or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system, which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments: but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections, and severely checked the freedom of his enquiries; they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy^k. The fierce contests of the eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of christianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young

φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῶον καὶ ἡμέτερον. The *pagan* supposes, that because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil demons.

^k See Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. l. viii. p. 253. 262. "You persecute," says he, "those heretics who do not mourn the dead man precisely in the way which you approve." He shows himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.

princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of paganism; under the specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of paganism¹. The crowd of sophists, who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were seriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, *seems* to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary assent of the imagination to those fables, which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of festivals and sacrifices; the successful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious scepticism^m. Instead of an indivisible

C H A P.
XXIII.

¹ Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 9, 10. p. 232, etc. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 61; Eunap. Vit. Sophist. in Maximo, p. 68, 69, 70. edit. Commelin.

^m A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different opera-

CHAP.
XXIII.

and regular system, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts; and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use, was of the largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he disdained the salutary yoke of the gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice, so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tiber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors had transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and sentiment, and divine power^a. For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those men who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of their ancestors^o.

The allegories.

But the devout philosopher, who sincerely embraced and warmly encouraged the superstition of the people, reserved for himself the privilege of a liberal interpre-

tion of theism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 444. —457. in 8vo. edit. 1777.

^a The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by disgracing the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (*ad Silium Italicum*, xvii. 33:) but we may observe that Livy (xxix. 14.) slides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

^o I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: *ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ τοιούτοις τοῖς κόμφοις, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον ὀρεγνύμεν ὑγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν βλέπει.* *Orat. v. p. 161.* Julian likewise declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy shields, which dropt from heaven on the Quirinal hill; and pities the strange blindness of the christians, who preferred the *cross* to these celestial trophies. *Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.*

tation; and silently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the sanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible voice, that the pious enquirer, instead of being scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense, should diligently explore the occult wisdom which had been disguised, by the prudence of antiquity, under the mask of folly and of fable^p. The philosophers of the Platonic school^q, Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admired as the most skilful masters of this allegorical science, which laboured to soften and harmonize the deformed features of paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the venerable successor of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, far above the empire of the world^r. It was indeed a treasure which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labours served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impene-

^p See the principles of allegory, in Julian, *Orat.* vii. p. 216. 222. His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, who assert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine must be divine; since no man alive could have thought of inventing it.

^q Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanatical history: and the learned Brucker (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. ii. p. 217—303.) has employed much labour to illustrate their obscure lives and incomprehensible doctrines.

^r Julian, *Orat.* vii. p. 222. He swears with the most fervent and enthusiastic devotion; and trembles, lest he should betray too much of these holy mysteries, which the profane might deride with an impious Sardonic laugh.

CHAP.
XXIII.

trable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at liberty to select the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cipher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* sense which was adapted to their favourite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked Venus, was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error*.

Theological
system of
Julian.

The theological system of Julian appears to have contained the sublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, must remain destitute of any firm assurance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapsed into the habits of vulgar superstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian†. The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the understanding of feeble mortals. The supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual succession of dependent spirits, of gods, of demons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the First Cause, received the inherent gift of immortality.

* See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever issued from the Platonic school, are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraordinary subject. The transition of Atys, from the wildest enthusiasm to sober pathetic complaint for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, an eunuch with despair.

† The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæsars, p. 308. with Spanheim's notes and illustrations; from the fragments in Cyril, l. ii. p. 57, 58; and especially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130—158. addressed, in the confidence of friendship, to the prefect Sallust.

That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects, the Creator had intrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect administration is not exempt from discord or error. The earth and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whose grosser parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice". The inferior gods might sometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honour. They might occasionally visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the sun, moon, and stars, was hastily admitted by Julian, as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but of the omnipotent King. In the system of the Platonists, the visible was a type of the invisible world. The celestial bodies, as they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The SUN, whose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the

" Julian adopts this gross conception, by ascribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus: Cæsares, p. 333. The stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might starve the immortal gods. See Observations de Spanheim, p. 284. 444, etc.

CHAP.
XXIII.

Fanaticism
of the phi-
losophers.

bright representative of the Logos, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father².

In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm, and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised only by the pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject of surprise and scandal, that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind³; and that the Grecian mysteries should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior demons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and, by disengaging the soul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the infinite and divine Spirit.

Initiation
and fana-
ticism of
Julian.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences⁴. Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid

² "Ἡλιον λέγω, τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐμφύχον, καὶ ἐννουν, καὶ ἀγαθοεργὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ πατρός. Julian, epist. xli. In another place (apud Cyril. l. ii. p. 69.) he calls the sun God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonician Trinity; and only blames the christians for preferring a mortal to an immortal Logos.

³ The sophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the saints of the desert; and the only circumstance in their favour is, that they are of a less gloomy complexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys issued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command: p. 26, 27.

⁴ The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius, (p. 69—76.) with unsuspecting simplicity. The abbé de la Bleterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy: Vie de Julien, p. 61—67.

conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysantes and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primeval sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the silence of the night; and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds and fiery apparitions which were presented to the senses or the imagination of the credulous aspirant^a, till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light^b. In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep, and unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be observed, or

^a When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the demons instantly disappeared: Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71. Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine this profound question.

^b A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is shown by Dion, Chrysostom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the Divine Legation has exhibited their words, (vol. i. p. 239. 247, 248. 280. edit. 1765.) which he dexterously or forcibly applies to his own hypothesis.

at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and frivolous rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth, to enjoy the conversation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his slumbers by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules^c. These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony or Pachomius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he

^c Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the fasts and visions of the religious hero: Legat. ad Julian. p. 157. and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310.

calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

CHAP.
XXIII.

The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion^d. The pleasing rumour was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the restoration of every blessing; and, instead of disapproving of the ardour of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed, that he was ambitious to attain a situation, in which he might be useful to his country, and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condescended to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the christians^e. But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he

His religious dissimulation.

^d Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostasy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; an argument which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian, Op. p. 454. and Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 141.

^e Gregory, (iii. p. 50.) with inhuman zeal, censures Constantius for sparing the infant apostate (*κακῶς σωζέμεν*.) His French translator, (p. 265.) cautiously observes, that such expressions must not be "prises à la lettre."

C H A P.
XXIII.

inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise. "As the statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been defiled with filth, are again placed in a magnificent temple; so the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian, after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his education. His sentiments were changed; but as it would have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his conduct still continued the same. Very different from the ass in Æsop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws of prudence and necessity^f." The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus, to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of the christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense on the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of christianity increased the aversion of Julian for a religion which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, sincerity and courage.

He writes
against
christianity.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer and of the Scipios, to the new faith which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the

^f Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

weight of evidence. The elaborate work^g, which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria^h; and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attentionⁱ; and, in the impious list of the enemies of christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived, from the popular work of their imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

C H A P.
XXIII.

The christians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apostasy of Julian, had much more to fear

Universal
toleration.

^g Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88—90.) and Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 44—47.) have accurately compiled all that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the christians.

^h About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favourable judges: and the abbé de la Bleterie (Preface à l'Hist. de Jovien, p. 30. 32.) wishes that some *théologien philosophe* (a strange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

ⁱ Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. p. 313.) who has been suspected of assisting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. in necem Julian. p. 255. edit. Morel.) to the writings of Porphyry. His judgement may be arraigned, (Socrates, l. iii. c. 23.) but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.

CHAP.
XXIII.

from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince¹, who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted, are honoured as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the catholic church, which had derived strength and increase from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the christians, was to deprive them of the power of

¹ Libanius (*Orat. Parent. c. lviii. p. 283, 284.*) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Boetra, Julian himself (*Epist. lii.*) professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory, *Orat. iii. p. 72.*

tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatised with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open ALL their temples¹; and they were at once delivered from the oppressive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine and of his sons. At the same time, the bishops and clergy who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who understood and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni:" but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of undermining the foundations of christianity, was inseparably connected with the zeal, which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire^m.

¹ In Greece the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, before the death of Constantius; Liban. Orat. Parent. c. lv. p. 280; and Julian declares himself a pagan in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.

^m Ammianus, xxii. 5; Sozomen, l. v. c. 5. *Bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit omnes episcopi qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam novi principis ad ecclesias redeunt.* Jerom. adversus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143. Optatus accuses the Donatists for owing their safety to an apostate: l. ii. c. 16. p. 36, 37. edit. Dupin.

CHAP.
XXIII.

Zeal and
devotion of
Julian in
the restora-
tion of pa-
ganism.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff; not only as the most honourable title of imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office, the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the sun sunk below the horizon; and the moon, the stars, and the genii of the night, received their respective and seasonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendour of his purple, and encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited, with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince who practised the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of re-

ligious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand or by order of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time, or the recent injuries of christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for their joyous votariesⁿ."

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion, which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office

Reforma-
tion of pa-
ganism.

ⁿ The restoration of the pagan worship is described by Julian, *Misopogon*, p. 346; Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 60, p. 286, 287; and *Orat. Consular.* ad Julian. p. 245, 246. edit. Morel; Ammianus, xxii. 12; and Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. iv.* p. 121. These writers agree in the essential, and even minute facts: but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian, are expressive of the gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

had been united with the imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers whom he esteemed the best qualified to cooperate in the execution of his great design; and his pastoral letters^o, if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness of their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of holy vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse, without the prayers and the sacrifice which they are obliged to offer for the prosperity of the state and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immaculate purity, both of mind and body; and even when they are dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of honourable reputation; and, if he sometimes visits the forum or the palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy. His

^o See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxii. lxiii. and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end, p. 288—305. The supreme pontiff derides the Mosaic history and the christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a jesuit, the *relative* worship of images.

studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires, must be banished from his library; which ought solely to consist of historical and philosophical writings; of history which is founded in truth, and of philosophy which is connected with religion. The impious opinions of the epicureans and sceptics deserve his abhorrence and contempt^p; but he should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the stoics, which unanimously teach that there *are* gods; that the world is governed by their providence; that their goodness is the source of every temporal blessing; and that they have prepared for the human soul a future state of reward or punishment." The imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence^q. The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by the success of his enemies. But if these imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been less beneficial to pa-

^p The exultation of Julian, (p. 301.) that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character: but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments, the most repugnant to his own, should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

^q Yet he insinuates, that the christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on ship-board, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country: p. 305. Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish.

C H A P.
XXIII.The philo-
sophers.

ganism, than honourable to christianity^r. The gentiles, who peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of fervour of his own party^s.

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor^t. If they cultivated the literature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the muses in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous^u; and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the bishops, who had seduced the credulity of Constantius. His successor esteemed the ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of consanguinity: he chose his favourites among the sages who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination; and every impostor who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity, was assured of enjoying the present hour in honour and affluence^x.

^r Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative: Orat. iii. p. 101, 102, etc. He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation; and amuses himself with enquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

^s He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the christian bishops and presbyters: Epist. lxii. Ὅρων οὖν πολλήν μὲν διτιγορίαν οὔσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς and again, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτω ραθύμως, etc. Epist. lxiii.

^t He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewards her with the priesthood of the Phrygian goddess at Pessinus. Julian. Epist. xxi. He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to apostatize. Epist. xxvii. p. 401.

^u Ὁ δὲ νομιζὼν ἀδελφὰ λόγους τε καὶ θεῶν ἱερά. Orat. Parent. c. 77. p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

^x The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly exposed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs, during the anxious suspense of the civil war[†]. As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he despatched an honourable and pressing invitation to Maximus, who then resided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chrysanthius, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect: but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a seeming consent to his own wishes, and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity; and the magistrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly; where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus[‡], who soon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty; and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful enquiry into the means by which the disci-

[†] Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Three other epistles, (xv. xvi. xxxix.) in the same style of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

[‡] Eunapius (in *Maximo*, p. 77, 78, 79. and in *Chrysanthio*, p. 147, 148.) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly confesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 86. p. 367; and Ammianus, xxii. 7.

ple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the success of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence or their reputation^a. The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconsistency; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion^b.

Conver-
sions.

The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes^c gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from

^a Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created high priest of the province. His cautious and temperate use of power secured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace: while Maximus, Priscus, etc. were persecuted by the christian ministers. See the adventures of those fanatic sophists, collected by Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281—293.

^b See Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 101, 102. p. 324, 325, 326; and Eupapius, Vit. Sophist. in Proæresio, p. 126. Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless or extravagant, retired in disgust: Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120. It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters, (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960.) "La cour de Julien est pleine de philosophes et de gens perdus."

^c Under the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of *convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making proselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France: may they never be introduced into England!

their impious revolt against the immortal gods^d. A prince, who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of christians^e; and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantius, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they assisted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the sacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen^f. The armies of the east, which had been trained under the standard of the cross and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erased from the *labarum*; and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of pagan superstition, were so dexterously blended, that the faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry,

CHAP.
XXIII.

^d See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian himself, Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 285.

^e When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167.) is desirous to magnify the christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, *πολὸν ἐν ὅπλοις, καὶ μέγαν ἐν λόγοις δεινότητι*. In his invectives, he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the apostate.

^f Julian. Epist. xxxviii; Ammianus, xxii. 12. Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distintiore sagina vicitantes incultius, potusque aviditate correpti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus . . . ad sua diversoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch, similar causes must have produced similar effects.

CHAP.
XXIII.

when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold, and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement; and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions^a. It is indeed more than probable, that the restoration and encouragement of paganism revealed a multitude of pretended christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the same flexibility of conscience, to the faith which was professed by the successors of Julian.

The jews.

While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. In a public epistle^b to the nation or community of the jews dispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppressors, praises their constancy, declares himself

^a Gregory, Orat. iii. p. 74, 75. 83—86; and Libanius, Orat. Parent. lxxxi. lxxxi. p. 307, 308: *περι ταύτην τὴν σπευδὴν, οὐκ ἀρνούμαι πλοῦτον ἀνηλώσθαι μέγαν*. The sophist owns and justifies the expense of these military conversions.

^b Julian's epistle (xxv.) is addressed to the community of the jews. Aldus (Venet. 1499.) has branded it with an *εἰ γνήσιος*; but this stigma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epistle is mentioned by Sozomen, l. v. c. 22; and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory, Orat. iv. p. 111; and by Julian himself, Fragment, p. 295.

their gracious protector, and expresses a pious hope that, after his return from the Persian war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jerusalem. The blind superstition and abject slavery of those unfortunate exiles, must excite the contempt of a philosophic emperor; but they deserved the friendship of Julian by their implacable hatred of the christian name. The barren synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the jews was not equal to their malice; but their gravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate¹; and their seditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the jews became the subjects of their revolted children; nor was it long before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted or confirmed by Severus, were gradually repealed by the christian princes; and a rash tumult, excited by the jews of Palestine^k, seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression which were invented by the bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantius. The jewish patriarch, who was still permitted to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, held his residence at Tiberias^l; and the neighbouring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people who fondly adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross, and the devotion of the christians^m.

¹ The Misnah denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgement of zeal is explained by Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 161, 162. edit. fol. London, 1672. and Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 120. Constantine made a law to protect christian converts from judaism. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1; Godefroy, tom. vi. p. 215.

^k Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judæorum seditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa. Aurelius Victor, in Constantio, c. xlii. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 379. in 4to.

^l The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Reland. Palestin. tom. ii. p. 1036—1042.

^m Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the jews under Constantine and his successors, tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111—153.

C H A P.
XXIII.

Jerusalem.

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem^a enclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three English miles^o. Towards the south, the upper town, and the fortress of David, were erected on the lofty ascent of mount Sion: on the north side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the jewish nation. After the final destruction of the temple by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted: and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ^p. Almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground by the first christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God^q.

^a Reland (*Palestin.* l. i. p. 309. 390. l. iii. p. 838.) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem and the face of the adjacent country.

^o I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. d'Anville, *sur l'Antienne Jerusalem*, Paris, 1747, p. 75. The circumference of the ancient city (*Euseb. Præparat. Evangel.* l. ix. c. 36.) was twenty-seven stadia, or two thousand five hundred and fifty toises. A plan, taken on the spot, assigns no more than one thousand nine hundred and eighty for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural landmarks, which cannot be mistaken or removed.

^p See two curious passages in Jerome, tom. i. p. 102. tom. vi. p. 315. and the ample details of Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. i. p. 569. tom. ii. p. 289. 294. 4to. edition.

^q Eusebius, in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 25—47. 51—53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlem, the mount of Olives, and the oak of

The passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most distant countries of the east^r; and their piety was authorised by the example of the empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place^s; and the christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the divine Spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged: and, above all, they showed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes who inserted the symbol of christianity in the banners of the Roman legions^t. Such miracles as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation, and seasonable discovery, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the

Pilgrim-
ages.

Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys, *Travels*, p. 125—133. and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, p. 288—296.

^r The Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem was composed in the year 333. for the use of pilgrims; among whom Jerome (tom. i. p. 126.) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 537—545.

^s Cicero (*de Finibus*, v. 1.) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

^t Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A. D. 326. No. 42—50.*) and Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 8—16.) are the historians and champions of the miraculous invention of the cross under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238—248.

CHAP.
XXIII.

true cross, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims by the gift of small pieces, which they enchased in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose, that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired^a. It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of business and pleasure^x, but that every species of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city^y. The wealth and preeminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who since his death has been honoured with the title of *saint*, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity^z.

^a This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus, epist. xxxvi. See Dupin, (Biblioth. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 149.) who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the virgin's milk, (Erasmii Opera, tom. i. p. 778. Lugd. Batav. 1703. in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo,) saints' heads, etc. and other relics, which are repeated in so many different churches.

^x Jerome, (tom. i. p. 103.) who resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, describes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

^y Gregor. Nyssen, apud Wesseling, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the catholic divines, while it is dear and familiar to our protestant polemics.

^z He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was reordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont, (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii.) who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem^a. CHAP.
XXIII.

As the christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy and the truth of revelation^b. He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt^c. The local and national deity of the jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods^d; and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two thousand oxen and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep^e. These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might

Julian at-
tempts to re-
build the
temple.

^a Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare. Ammian. xxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the gentiles. They had many temples in each city, (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four;) but the wealth and religion of the jewish nation was centred in one spot.

^b The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late bishop of Gloucester, the learned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled *Julian* (second edit. Lond. 1751.) is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian school.

^c I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, etc. who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falsehood of some superstitious divines. See *Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 25, etc.

^d Julian (Fragment, p. 295.) respectfully styles him μέγας θεός, and mentions him elsewhere (epist. lxiii.) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the christians; for believing, and for renouncing, the religion of the jews. Their Deity was a *true*, but not the *only* God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

^e 1 Kings viii. 63; 2 Chronicles vii. 5; Joseph. *Antiquitat. Judaic.* l. viii. c. 4. p. 431. edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the christian rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers.

eclipse the splendour of the church of the resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius^f. The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice and manly fortitude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian communicated, without reserve, his most careless levities and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment, the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people^g.

^f Julian, epist. xxix. xxx. La Bleterie has neglected to translate the second of these epistles.

^g See the zeal and impatience of the jews in Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 111. and Theodoret, l. iii. c. 20.

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the jewish temple, which is now covered by a mahometan mosque^b, still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julianⁱ. But the christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence^k. This public event is described by Ambrose^l, bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom^m, who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzenⁿ, who published his account of the miracle

C H A P.
XXIII.

The enter-
prise is de-
feated, .

^b Built by Omar, the second khalif, who died A.D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole consecrated ground of the jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of seven hundred and sixty *toises*, or one Roman mile in circumference. See d'Anville, Jerusalem, p. 45.

ⁱ Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363. before he proceeds to mention the *thoughts* of Julian. *Templum . . . instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis*. Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have understood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

^k The subsequent witnesses, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, etc. add contradictions rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 157—168.) with Warburton's answers: Julian, p. 174—258. The bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of lightning.

^l Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 946. edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic epistle (A. D. 388.) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil magistrate for burning a synagogue.

^m Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 580; advers. Judæos et Gentes, tom. ii. p. 574. de S^{to}. Babyla, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural supposition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the composition of these sermons in the year 383. is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

ⁿ Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 110—113. Τὸ δὲ οὖν περιβόητον πασι θαῦμα, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀθίοις αὐτοῖς ἀπιστούμενον λέξων ἐρχομαι.

CHAP.
XXIII.

perhaps by
a preterna-
tural event.

before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus^o. The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged, with vigour and diligence, the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks, rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle^p.

^o Ammian. xxiii. 1. Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammæ, prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. Warburton labours (p. 60—90.) to extort a confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi, who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can only be received by a very favourable judge.

^p Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle: Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 47—71. The silence of Jerome would lead to a suspicion, that the same story which was celebrated at a distance, might be despised on the spot.

The restoration of the jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was imbibed by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of GALILÆANS⁹. He declared, that, by the folly of the Galilæans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he insinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence^r. An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people^s. According to a principle pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which

C H A P.
XXIII.
Partiality
of Julian.

⁹ Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has justly observed, (p. 35.) that the Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of words; and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.

^r Fragment. Julian. p. 288. He derides the *μολία Γαλιλαίων*, (epist. vii.) and so far loses sight of the principles of toleration, as to wish (epist. xlii.) *ἀκόντας ἰᾶσθαι*.

^s *Ὅν γὰρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν ἢ ἐλεᾶρει*
Ἀνδράς, οἱ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθωντ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted, in the true spirit of a bigot, (epist. xlix.) are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of winds: Odyss. x. 73. Libanius

CHAP.
XXIII.

had been granted to the church by the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honours and immunities which had been constructed with so much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testamentary donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the priests of the christian sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics, were soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the sacerdotal order, *must* be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian, to deprive the christians of all the temporal honours and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world^t.

He prohibits the christians from teaching schools.

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric^u. The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure, might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the Greeks: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith, are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the

(Orat. Parent. c. 59. p. 286.) attempts to justify this partial behaviour, by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candour.

^t These laws, which affected the clergy, may be found in the slight hints of Julian himself, (epist. lii.) in the vague declamations of Gregory, (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87.) and in the positive assertions of Sozomen, l. v. c. 5.

^u Inclemens . . . perenni obruendum silentio. Ammian. xxii. 10. xxv. 5.

churches of the Galilæans*. In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was intrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorised by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the christians†. As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate‡ teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of the pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years, the church would relapse into its primeval simplicity, and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of polytheism§.

* The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of Julian, (xlii.) may be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory: Orat. iii. p. 96. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1291—1294.) has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The christians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the pagans.

† Codex Theodos. l. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et professoribus, leg. 5. (published the seventeenth of June, received, at Spoleto in Italy, the twenty-ninth of July, A. D. 363.) with Godefroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

‡ Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution: Sicut a majoribus nostris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . officium quam fidem deserere maluerunt: vii. 30. Proæresius, a christian sophist, refused to accept the partial favour of the emperor. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 185. edit. Scaliger. Eunapius in Proæresio, p. 126.

§ They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own

CHAP.
XXIII.

Disgrace
and oppres-
sion of the
christians.

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to deprive the christians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices of trust and profit, seems to have been the result of his general policy, rather than the immediate consequence of any positive law^b. Superior merit might deserve and obtain some extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the state, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince, who maliciously reminded them, that it was unlawful for a christian to use the sword, either of justice or of war; and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of idolatry. The powers of government were intrusted to the pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as the most agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind^c. Under the administration of their enemies, the christians had much to suffer, and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the universe, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the laws of justice and toleration, which he himself had so recently established. But the provincial ministers of his authority were placed in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbitrary power, they consulted the wishes

schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his christian imitations of Homer, (a sacred history in twenty-four books,) Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; and Sozomen is satisfied, that they equalled or excelled the originals.

^b It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates, (epist. vii.) *πορτιμάσθαι μὲν τοι τοὺς θεοσίβεις καὶ πάντα φημι δεῖν*. Sozomen, (l. v. c. 18.) and Socrates, (l. iii. c. 13.) must be reduced to the standard of Gregory, (Orat. iii. p. 95.) not less prone to exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

^c *Ψηφῶ θῶν καὶ διδοὺς καὶ μὴ διδοὺς*. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 88. p. 314.

rather than the commands of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries, on whom they were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The emperor, who dissembled, as long as possible, his knowledge of the injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real sense of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and substantial rewards^d.

The most effectual instrument of oppression with which they were armed, was the law that obliged the christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the sanction of the public authority; and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined, and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of pagan superstition, the christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices: and as it was necessary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his sacrilegious violence*. After the ground was cleared, the restitution of those stately structures which had been levelled with the dust, and of the precious ornaments which had been converted to christian uses, swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand: and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in

They are
condemned
to restore
the pagan
temples.

^d Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 74. 91, 92; Socrates, l. iii. c. 14; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 6. Some drawback may, however, be allowed for the violence of their zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

* If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60. p. 286.) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory, (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87.) we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the two orators are really describing the same events.

C H A P.
XXIII.

balancing the adverse claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the east, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, bishop of Arethusa^f, had laboured in the conversion of his people with arms more effectual than those of persuasion^g. The magistrates required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun^h. From this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the catholics ambitiously claimed his allianceⁱ; and the pa-

^f Restan, or Arethusa, at the equal distance of sixteen miles between Emesa (*Hemæ*) and Epiphania, (*Hamath*) was founded, or at least named, by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar era dates from the year of Rome 685; according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emesa and Arethusa were usurped by the Arab Sampsiceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See d'Anville's Maps and Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 134; Wesseling, Itineraria, p. 188; and Noris. Epoch. Syro-Macedon. p. 80. 481, 482.

^g Sozomen, l. v. c. 10. It is surprising that Gregory and Theodoret should suppress a circumstance which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

^h The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted, (Orat. iii. p. 88—91.) are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. Μάρκος ἐκείνος κρεμάμενος, καὶ μαστιγοῦμενος, καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἀπὸ τῶν πολλομένων, πάντα ἐνεγκὼν ἀνδρείως τὴν ἰσθμὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς, καὶ φανὴ τοῦ περιμαχέσθαι εὐθύς. Epist. 730. p. 350, 351. edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

ⁱ Περιμαχέσθαι, certatim eum sibi (christiani) vindicant. It is thus that

gans, who might be susceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such unavailing cruelty¹. Julian spared his life: but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian¹, posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor.

C H A P.
XXIII.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the pagan world^m. A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his colossal figureⁿ almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous Daphne: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the Castalian fountain of Daphne^o. In the ad-

The temple
and sacred
grove of
Daphne.

La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. iii. p. 371. Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 1309.) how Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

^k See the probable advice of Sallust: Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. 90, 91. Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many Marks; yet he allows, that if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marsyas; to be flayed alive: *Epist.* 730. p. 349—351.

^l Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 90.) is satisfied, that by saving the apostate, Mark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

^m The grove and temple of Daphne are described by Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1089, 1090. edit. Amstel. 1707; Libanius, *Nænia*, p. 185—188; Antiochic. *Orat.* xi. p. 380, 381; and Sozomen, l. v. c. 19. Wesseling (*Itinerar.* p. 581.) and Casaubon (ad *Hist. August.* p. 64.) illustrate this curious subject.

ⁿ Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem. *Ammian.* xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was sixty feet high, and his bulk was consequently equal to that of a thousand men. See a curious *mémoire* of the abbé Gedoy, *Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ix. p. 198.

^o Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the

CHAP.
XXIII.

jacent field a stadium was built by a special privilege^p, which had been purchased from Elis: the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures^q. The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendour, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise^r; where pleasure, assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges

Castalian stream; a trick which, according to the physician Vandale, (*de Oraculis*, p. 281, 282.) might be easily performed by chymical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

^p It was purchased, A. D. 44. in the year 92 of the era of Antioch, (*Noris. Epoch. Syro-Maced.* p. 139—174.) for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the *Chronicle of John Malala*, (tom. i. p. 290. 320. 372—381.) a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.

^q Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Sosibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities in the age of Constantine, are compared in the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6. Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.

^r *Avidio Cassio Syriacas legiones dedi luxuria diffuentes et Daphnicis moribus.* These are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, in an original letter preserved by his biographer in *Hist. August.* p. 41. Cassius dismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendour of the temple¹.

C H A P.
XXIII.

When Julian, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelary deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple². The altar was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of christian and funereal rites. After Babylas³ (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished,

Neglect and
profanation
of Daphne.

¹ Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit, (*Pompey*.) quo lucus ibi spatiosior fieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantia. Eutropius, vi. 14; Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 16.

² Julian (*Misopogon*, p. 361, 362.) discovers his own character with that naïveté, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitutes genuine humour.

³ Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishops of Antioch: *Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 29. 39. His triumph over two emperors (the first fabulous, the second historical,) is diffusely celebrated by Chrysostom, tom. ii. p. 536—579. edit. Montfaucon. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. iii. part ii. p. 287—302. 459—465.) becomes almost a sceptic.

C H A P. and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice
XXIII. which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings.

Removal of
the dead
bodies, and
conflagra-
tion of the
temple.

But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm*. The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behaviour which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the christians. The lofty car that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galilæans†. Their offence, had

* Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian (Misopogon, p. 361.) and Libanius, (Nænia, p. 185.) that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of one dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12.) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the isle of Delos.

† Julian (in Misopogon, p. 361.) rather insinuates than affirms their guilt. Ammianus (xxii. 13.) treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the story with extraordinary candour.

it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured^a; and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the sentence of the count of the east. But this hasty act was blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution^a.

CHAP.
XXIII.

Julian shuts
the cathedral of An-
tioch.

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor consistently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galilæans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommended^b. This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, etc. the pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity; that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death; that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of

^a Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatoris ira provexit, ut questiones agitare juberet solito acriores, (yet Julian blames the lenity of the magistrates of Antioch,) et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi. This interdiction was performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation: and the seasonable death of the principal actor, Julian's uncle, is related with much superstitious complacency by the abbé de la Bleterie, Vie de Julien, p. 362—369.

^b Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to be suspected, we may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the Acta Sincera of Ruinart, p. 591. The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

^b Julian. Misopogon, p. 361.

C H A P.
XXIII.

cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city^c. Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

George of
Cappadocia

George^d, from his parents or his education sur-named the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite; and the patrons whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean: he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology^e; and the choice of

^c See Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 87. Sozomen (l. v. c. 9.) may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of an hundred: l. vii. c. 28. Philostorgius, (l. vii. c. 4. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 284.) adds some tragic circumstances of christians, who were *literally* sacrificed at the altars of the gods, etc.

^d The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus, xii. 11; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. xxi. p. 382. 385. 389, 390; and Epiphanius, Hæres. lxxvi. The invectives of the two saints might not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the testimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

^e After the massacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish, indeed, that the

the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly which he acquired of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, etc.: and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he suggested, on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle, that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the pub-

oppresses
Alexandria
and Egypt.

A. D. 361,
November
30.

works of the Galilæans might perish; but he requires an exact account even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be confounded in their loss. Julian. Epist. ix. xxxvi.

C H A P.
XXIII.

He is mas-
sacred by
the people,
December
24.

and wor-
shipped as a
saint and
martyr.

lic prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party^f was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the christians, and to intercept the future honours of these *martyrs*, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion^g. The fears of the pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the catholic church^h. The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a christian heroⁱ; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed^k

^f Philostorgius, with cautious malice, insinuates their guilt, καὶ τοῦ 'Αθανάσιου γνώμην στρατηγήσαι τῆς πράξεως, l. vii. c. 2; Godefroy, p. 267.

^g Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerent; ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles poenas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc *martyres* appellantur. Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians, that George was not a martyr.

^h Some Donatists (Optatus Milev. p. 60. 303. edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 713. in 4to.) and Priscillianists, (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 517. in 4to.) have in like manner usurped the honours of catholic saints and martyrs.

ⁱ The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 494.) the first catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs, "qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt." He rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious acts, are still extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained in the presence of Queen *Alexandria*, against the *magician Athanasius*.

^k This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as extremely probable. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194.

into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter¹.

C H A P.
XXIII.

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa^m, by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I show myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galilæans. Their *admirable* law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved, by my assistance, from the load of temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have reason to dread, not only confiscation and exile, but fire and the sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature: but a christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the pagans; and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments that, on this occasion, they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested

¹ A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul,) might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (*History of St. George*, second edit. London, 1633, in 4to. p. 429.) and the Bollandists (*Act. SS. Mens. April. tom. iii. p. 100—163.*) His fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the crusades.

^m Julian. epist. xliij.

CHAP.
XXIII.

their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wise and vigorous government should chastise the insolence of the people: yet in consideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their tutelary deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother^a.

Restoration
of Athanasius.
A.D. 362,
Feb. 21.

After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated: and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius, enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of ecclesiastical dictator^o. Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the west had ignorantly, or reluctantly, subscribed the confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigour of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons, were agitated with some heat among the catholic doctors; and the progress of

^a Julian. Epist. x. He allowed his friends to assuage his anger. Ammian. xxii. 11.

^o See Athanas. ad Rufin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41; and Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 395, 396. who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his persecutions, etc.

this metaphysical controversy seemed to threaten a public and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits^p, the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the christians^q.

The skill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the season of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor^r. Julian, who despised the christians, honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galilæans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches: and he expressed his astonishment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgement of the emperors, should dare to insult the

He is persecuted and expelled by Julian.
A. D. 362,
Oct. 23.

^p I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 900—926; and observe how the colour of the narrative insensibly changes as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

^q *Assensus est huic sententiæ occidens, et, per tam necessarium concilium, Satanae faucibus mundus ereptus.* The lively and artful dialogue of Jerome against the Luciferians, (tom. ii. p. 135—155.) exhibits an original picture of the ecclesiastical policy of the times.

^r Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, crowds the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 360. An original fragment, published by the marquis Maffei from the old chapter library of Verona (*Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii. p. 60—92.) affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him, that the majority of the Alexandrians were christians; and that the greatest part of the christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his resentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence of Eclicius, prefect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though you neglect," says Julian, "to write to me on any other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since communicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on the calends of December, Athanasius has departed from Alexandria, nay from Egypt, the officers of your government shall pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive." This epistle was enforced by a short postscript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt that is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with more pleasure, than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian ladies of the highest

rank has been the effect of his persecutions¹." The death of Athanasius was not *expressly* commanded; but the prefect of Egypt understood, that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the desert; eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person of Athanasius¹."

CHAP.
XXIII.

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt or reproach of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must at the same time be confessed, that the *real* sufferings of the christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the gospel, was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The christians, who had now possessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity², and the habit of believing that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject

Zeal and
imprudence
of the
christians.

¹ Τὸν μαρόν, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν Ἑλλήνιδας, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, γυναικας τῶν ἐπισήμων βάπτισαι διώκεσθαι. I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the last word, the ambiguity of a tyrant who wished to find, or to create guilt.

² The three epistles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius, should be disposed in the following chronological order, xxvi. x. vi. See likewise Greg. Nazianzen, xxi. p. 393; Sozomen, l. v. c. 15; Socrates, l. iii. c. 14; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 361—368, who has used some materials prepared by the Bollandists.

³ See the fair confession of Gregory, Orat. iii. p. 61, 62.

of grief and scandal to the orthodox party^x. The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal of the people. At Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince who felt for the honour of the gods, was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperated, when he found that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom^y. The christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordinary administration of the laws, the christians, who formed so large a part of the people, must frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cause, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution^z. These present hardships, intolerable as they might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of the impending calamities. The christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected, that as

^x Hear the furious and absurd complaint of Optatus de Schismat. Donatist. l. ii. c. 16, 17.

^y Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 91. iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters of Cæsarea, *τούτων δὲ τῶν μεγαλοφυνῶν καὶ θερμῶν εἰς Ἐδοξείαν*. See Sozomen, l. v. 4. 11. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 649, 650.) owns, that their behaviour was not, dans l'ordre commun; but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

^z Julian determined a lawsuit against the new christian city at Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reversed by his successors. Sozomen, l. v. c. 3; Reland. Palestina. tom. ii. p. 791.

soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and society^a. Every calumny^b that could wound the reputation of the apostate, was credulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries; and their indiscreet clamours provoked the temper of a sovereign, whom it was their duty to respect, and their interest to flatter. They still protested, that prayers and tears were their only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended heaven. But they insinuated, with sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness; and that, in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience which is founded on principle, may be exhausted by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity: but, if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war^c.

^a Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95. Orat. iv. p. 114.) pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidants, whom Orosius (vii. 30.) could not have seen.

^b Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91.) charges the apostate with secret sacrifices of boys and girls; and positively affirms, that the dead bodies were thrown into the Orontes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27; and the equivocal candour of the abbé de la Bleterie, *Vie de Julien*, p. 351, 352. Yet contemporary malice could not impute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more especially in the west, which Baronius so greedily swallows, and Tillemont so faintly rejects, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1295—1315*.

^c The resignation of Gregory is truly edifying: Orat. iv. p. 123, 124. Yet, when an officer of Julian attempted to seize the church of Nazianzus, he would have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people: Orat. xix. p. 308. See the reflections of Chrysostom, as they are alleged by Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 575*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RESIDENCE OF JULIAN AT ANTIOCH.—HIS SUCCESSFUL
EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS.—PASSAGE OF THE
TIGRIS.—THE RETREAT AND DEATH OF JULIAN.—
ELECTION OF JOVIAN.—HE SAVES THE ROMAN ARMY
BY A DISGRACEFUL TREATY.

The Cæsars
of Julian.

THE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name of the CÆSARS^a, is one of the most agreeable and instructive productions of ancient wit^b. During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table of the Cæsars was spread below the moon, in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have disgraced the society of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars successively advanced to their seats; and, as they passed, the vices, the defects, the blemishes of their respective characters, were maliciously noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist, who disguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of

^a See this fable or satire, p. 306—336. of the Leipsig edition of Julian's works. The French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683.) is coarse, languid, and correct; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, etc. are piled on each other till they form a mass of five hundred and fifty-seven close printed quarto pages. The abbé de la Bleterie (*Vie de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 241—393.) has more happily expressed the spirit, as well as the sense of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and curious notes.

^b Spanheim, in his preface, has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, resemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was acted after the tragedy; and the Latin *satires*, (from *satura*,) a *miscellaneous* composition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original cast, that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

a bacchanal^c. As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown should be the reward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were selected as the most illustrious candidates: the effeminate Constantine^d was not excluded from this honourable competition; and the great Alexander was invited to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgement of the gods, the modest silence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful contest proceeded to examine the heart, and to scrutinize the springs of action; the superiority of the imperial stoic appeared still more decisive and conspicuous^e. Alexander and Cæsar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged with a blush, that fame, or power, or pleasure, had been the important object of *their* labours: but the gods themselves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne the lessons of philosophy; and who, in a state of human imperfection, had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribes, in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the useful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious spirit was inflamed by the glory of Alex-
He resolves to march against the Persians. A. D. 362.

^c This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

^d Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine and the christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled, by a more sacred interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

^e Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander: Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264.

ander; and he solicited, with equal ardour, the esteem of the wise, and the applause of the multitude. In the season of life when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, of the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors of the east, from the continent of India, and the isle of Ceylon^f, had respectfully saluted the Roman purple^g. The nations of the west esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory^h, and was satisfied that the rapacious barbarians of the Danube would be restrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications with which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final conquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation, which had so long resisted and insulted the majesty of Romeⁱ. As soon as the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constantius

^f Inde nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optimates mittentibus... ab usque Divis et *Serendivis*. Ammian. xx. 7. This island, to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon, have been successively applied, manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands, to the east of cape Comorin, were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who farmed the customs of the Red sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast: he conversed six months with the natives; and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was persuaded to send an embassy to the emperor. Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 24. 2. The geographers (and even Ptolemy) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real size of this new world, which they extended as far as the equator, and the neighbourhood of China.

^g These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily deviates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the short duration of the reign of Julian.

^h Gothos sæpe fallaces et perfidos; hostes querere se meliores aiebat: illis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine conditionis discrimine venumdantur. Within less than fifteen years, these Gothic slaves threatened and subdued their masters.

ⁱ Alexander reminds his rival Cæsar, who depreciated the fame and merit of an Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had felt the Persian arrows; and that the Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single province of Mesopotamia or Assyria. Cæsares, p. 324.

was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condescended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures towards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was astonished by the firmness of Julian; who sternly declared, that he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and who added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to treat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit speedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was destined for this important service; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the provinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march into the heart of Persia was checked by the indispensable duty of regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends, who represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of winter quarters, to restore the exhausted strength of the legions of Gaul, and the discipline and spirit of the eastern troops. Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residence at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride the haste, and to censure the delays, of their sovereign^k.

Julian proceeds from Constantinople to Antioch. August.

If Julian had flattered himself, that his personal connection with the capital of the east would be productive of mutual satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very false estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch^l. The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lively licen-

Licentious manners of the people of Antioch.

^k The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus, xii. 7. 12; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 79, 80. p. 305, 306; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 158; and Socrates, l. iii. c. 19.

^l The satire of Julian, and the homilies of St. Chrysostom, exhibit the same picture of Antioch. The miniature which the abbé de la Bleterie has copied from thence (Vie de Julien, p. 332.) is elegant and correct.

CHAP.
XXIV.

tiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure the only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the only distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the serious and manly virtues were the subject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty and reverence, announced the universal corruption of the capital of the east. The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of the Syrians: the most skillful artists were procured from the adjacent cities^m; a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to the public amusements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was considered as the happiness and as the glory of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdained such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disgusted the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the severe simplicity which Julian always maintained, and sometimes affected. The days of festivity, consecrated by ancient custom to the honour of the gods, were the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosophic severity; and those festivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasure. The majority of the people supported the glory of the christian name, which had been first invented by their ancestorsⁿ: they contented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but they were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, of their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by heresy and schism; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus^o,

^m Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Cæsarea, pantomimes; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; and Castabala, rope-dancers. See the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6. in the third tome of Hudson's *Minor Geographers*.

ⁿ Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες, ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός. The people of Antioch ingenuously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ) and the *Kappa* (Constantius.) Julian in *Misopogon*, p. 357.

^o The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years, (A. D. 330—

were actuated by the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

CHAP.
XXIV.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character of an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous sect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of Julian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, that famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople to Antioch; and the discontent of a hungry people was exasperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. The inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria; and the price of bread^p, in the markets of Antioch, had naturally risen in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and reasonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his exclusive property; is used by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third for the daily and necessary support of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation were exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be satis-

Their aversion to Julian.

Scarcity of corn, and public discontent.

415.) was inflamed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 803. of the quarto edition, Paris, 1701, etc. which henceforward I shall quote.

^p Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat for one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity, in *Misopogon*, p. 369. From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude, that under the successors of Constantine, the moderate price of wheat was about thirty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the sixty-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's *Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures*, p. 88, 89; *Plin. Hist. Natur.* xviii. 12; *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxviii. p. 718—721; *Smith's Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 246. This last I am proud to quote, as the work of a sage and a friend.

C H A P.
XXIV.

fied with a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsistence of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that in a time of scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom been known in the most plentiful years; and that his own example might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were drawn, by his order, from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, and even of Egypt. The consequences might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The imperial wheat was purchased by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quantities that appeared in the market, were secretly sold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus^q. The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to exasperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps with truth, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldness which they assumed, to the sense, not of public duty, but of private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hundred of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent, under a guard, from the palace to the prison; and though they were permitted, before the close of evening, to return to their respective

^q Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus. Ammian. xxii. 14. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may claim some excuse; but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence, in Misopogon, p. 368, 369. or the elaborate apology of Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. xcvi. p. 321.

houses^r, the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which he had so easily granted. The same grievances were still the subject of the same complaints, which were industriously circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounded with insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the personal conduct, and even the *beard* of the emperor; and the spirit of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magistrates, and the applause of the multitude^s. The disciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but the monarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of absolute power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians must have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and the cruelty, of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence might have deprived the capital of the east of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of justice, which asserted the dignity of the supreme magistrate of the republic^t. But instead of abusing, or exerting, the authority of the state, to revenge his personal injuries, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his turn he composed, under the title of the Enemy of the Beard, an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This

Julian com-
poses a sa-
tire against
Antioch.

^r Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. xcvi. p. 322, 323.

^s Libanius, (ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris ira, c. 17, 18, 19. in Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vii. p. 221—223.) like a skilful advocate, severely censures the folly of the people, who suffered for the crime of a few obscure and drunken wretches.

^t Libanius (ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213.) reminds Antioch of the recent chastisement of Cæsarea: and even Julian (in Misopogon, p. 355.) insinuates how severely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

he boldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resentment of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of old age^d, to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable; but Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness*.

March of
Julian to
the Eu-
phrates.
A. D. 363,
March 5.

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days^e, he halted on the third at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely christian; who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was

banian was thought to excel, are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (*Dissertation upon Phalaris*, p. 487.) might justly, though quaintly, observe, that "you feel by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his desk."

^d His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-sixth year of his age, (A. D. 390.) and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

^e Libanius has composed the vain, prolix, but curious narrative of his own life, (tom. ii. p. 1—84. edit. Morell.) of which Eunapius (p. 130.—135.) has left a concise and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 571—576.) Fabricius, (*Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 378—414.) and Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, tom. iv. p. 127—163.) have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist.

^f From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand, Julian, *epist.* xxvii. It is singular enough, that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 190; Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins*, tom. ii. p. 100.

disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature and the duty of a subject; and, at length, turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since you have lost a father," said he, "for my sake, it is incumbent on me to supply his place^s." The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ, a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The solemn rites of sacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause; and he too clearly discerned, that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had sanctified for so many ages the city of Hierapolis^b, no longer subsisted; and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had

^s Julian alludes to this incident, (epist. xxvii.) which is more distinctly related by Theodoret, l. iii. c. 22. The intolerant spirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 534. and even by la Bletterie, *Vie de Julien*, p. 413.

^b See the curious treatise de Dea Syria, inserted among the works of Lucian, tom. iii. p. 451—490. edit. Reitz. The singular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Ammian. xiv. 8.) might induce a suspicion that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

CHAP.
XXIV.

now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to observe and register the most trifling presages, from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived¹. He informed Libanius of his progress as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle², which displays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendship for the sophist of Antioch.

His design
of invading
Persia.

Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates³, had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previously constructed^m. If the inclinations of Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might have wasted the active and important season of the year in the circus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But as the warlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæⁿ, a very ancient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immense preparations of the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breast; but as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his design to attack

¹ Julian (epist. xxviii.) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs, which Ammianus, (xxiii. 2.) has carefully recorded.

² Julian, epist. xxvii. p. 399—402.

³ I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. d'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris, (Paris, 1780, in 4to.) which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian.

^m There are three passages within a few miles of each other: 1. Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2. Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. The bridge of Menbigz, or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city.

ⁿ Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans, and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens, (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.) a work from which I have obtained much *oriental* knowledge, concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and to secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after wasting with fire and sword the fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to the assistance of the Romans^o. But the feeble Arsaces Tiranus^p, king of Armenia, had degenerated still more shamefully than his father Chosroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the prefect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the destined wife of the emperor Constans, exalted the dignity of a barbarian king^q. Tiranus professed the christian re-

Disaffec-
tion of the
king of Ar-
menia.

^o See Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 189. edit. Hutchinson. Artavasdes might have supplied Marc Antony with sixteen thousand horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner: Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. v. p. 117.

^p Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armeniac. l. iii. c. 11. p. 242.) fixes his accession (A. D. 354.) to the seventeenth year of Constantius.

^q Ammian. xx. 11. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856.) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow *τοῖς βαρβάροις*, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a christian.

CHAP.
XXIV.

ligion; he reigned over a nation of christians; and he was restrained, by every principle of conscience and interest, from contributing to the victory which would consummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exasperated by the indiscretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as *his* slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the imperial mandates^r awakened the secret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arsacides, the lords of the east, and the rivals of the Roman power.

Military
prepara-
tions.

The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right; traversed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor pursued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate,

^r Ammianus (xxiii. 2.) uses a word much too soft for the occasion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86.) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arsaces; fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5.) most probably spurious. La Bleterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 339.) translates and rejects it.

and almost from another world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates* was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions, and to satisfy the wants, of the Roman army. The military strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed galleys; and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occasionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly constructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biscuit for the use of the soldiers; but he prohibited the indulgence of wine, and rigorously stopped a long string of superfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circesium†; and as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires. The custom of ancient discipline required a military oration; and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their

Julian enters the Persian territories. April 7.

* *Latissimum flumen Euphraten artabat.* Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, or eight hundred yards, almost half an English mile, broad: Xenophon. *Anabasis*, l. i. p. 41. edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, etc. in the second volume of Spelman's translation. If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than one hundred and thirty yards, (*Voyages de Niebuhr*, tom. ii. p. 335.) the enormous difference must chiefly arise from the depth of the channel.

† *Monumentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cujus mœnia Abora (the orientals aspire Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes.* Ammian. xxiii. 5.

CHAP. resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the
XXIV. Persians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver to every soldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circesium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress^u.

His march
over the de-
sert of Me-
sopotamia.

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country^x, the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was disposed in three columns^y. The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of several legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in sight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Arinthæus were appointed generals of the horse; and the singular adventures of Hormisdas^z are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince, of the royal race of the Sassanides, who, in the

^u The enterprise and armament of Julian are described by himself, *Epist.* xxvii; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3, 4, 5; Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. viii. cix. p. 332, 333; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 160, 161, 162; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 1; and John Malela, tom. ii. p. 17.

^x Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (xxiii. 6. p. 396—419. edit. Gronov. in 4to.) the eighteen great satrapies, or provinces, (as far as the Seric, or Chinese frontiers,) which were subject to the Sassanides.

^y Ammianus (xxiv. 1.) and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 162, 163.) have accurately expressed the order of march.

^z The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some mixture of fable; Zosimus, l. ii. p. 100—102; Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 198. It is almost impossible that he should be the brother (*frater germanus*) of an *eldest* and *posthumous* child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title.

troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas at first excited the compassion, and at length acquired the esteem, of his new masters; his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of the Roman service; and, though a christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice, of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Osroene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage securely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order, that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed, from the Chaboras to the cultivated lands of Assyria, may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon*. "The

* See the first book of the Anabasis, p. 45, 46. This pleasing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

CHAP.
XXIV.

country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; and if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees could be seen. Bustards and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses^b, appeared to be the only inhabitants of the desert; and the fatigues of the march were alleviated by the amusements of the chase." The loose sand of the desert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust: and a great number of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

His success. The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho^c, the actual residence of an Arabian emir, is composed of two long streets, which enclose within a natural fortification a small island in the midst, and two fruitful spots on either side, of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho showed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from such fatal presumption by the mild exhortations of prince Hormisdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian; who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Pusæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable fortress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise, that when he had subdued the interior provinces

^b Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the *Anabasis*, (vol. i. p. 51.) confounds the antelope with the roe-buck, and the wild ass with the zebra.

^c See *Voyages de Tavernier*, part i. l. iii. p. 316. and more especially *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 671, etc. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers seldom possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournefort deserve an honourable exception.

of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the surenas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces, the renowned emir of the tribe of Gassan^d, incessantly hovered round the army: every straggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the barbarians were finally repulsed: the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria, to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta^e.

The fertile province of Assyria^f, which stretched beyond the Tigris as far as the mountains of Media^g, extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge

C H A P.
XXIV.

Description
of Assyria.

^d *Famosi nominis latro*, says Ammianus; an high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings, or emirs, from the time of Pompey to that of the khalif Omar. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 360; Pocock, *Specimen Hist. Arabicæ*, p. 75—78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list.

^e See Ammianus, xxiv. l. 2; Libanius, *Orat. Parental.* c. 110, 111. p. 334; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 164—168.

^f The description of Assyria is furnished by Herodotus, l. i. c. 192, etc. who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers; by Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1070—1082; and by Ammianus, l. xxiii. c. 6. The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier, part i. l. ii. p. 226—258; Otter, tom. ii. p. 35—69. and 189—224; and Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—288. Yet I much regret that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated.

^g Ammianus remarks, that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Niniveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene: and he seems to fix Teredon, Vologesia, and Apollonia, as the extreme cities of the actual province of Assyria.

CHAP.
XXIV.

themselves into the Persian Gulf^b. The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and as the dams could be speedily broke down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate of Assyria, nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which supports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman who committed his seed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an increase of two, or even of three hundred. The face of the country was interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-treesⁱ; and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Several manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employed the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for

^b The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian Gulf,) into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe about twenty miles to the south-east of modern Basra. D'Anville, in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxx. p. 170—181.

ⁱ The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted (*Amoenitat. Exoticæ, Fascicul. iv.* p. 660—764.) the whole subject of palm-trees.

foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park: but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had successively arisen; and the populousness of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks dried in the sun, and strongly cemented with bitumen; the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyrus reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the great king. Four considerable villages were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, were constantly kept, at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute which was paid to the satrap amounted to one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling^k.

C H A P.
XXIV.

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during several days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging hardships. But every obstacle was

Invasion of
Assyria.
A.D. 363,
May.

^k Assyria yielded to the Persian satrap an *artaba* of silver each day. The well known proportion of weights and measures (see bishop Hooper's elaborate Enquiry,) the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the great king received no more than one thousand Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (two hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds) from Assyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192. l. iii. c. 89—96.) reveals an important difference between the *gross* and the *net* revenue of Persia; the sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasure. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.

CHAP.
XXIV.

Siege of
Perisabor,

surmounted by the perseverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well as to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper canals on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the arms of a Roman emperor; and they both paid the severe penalty of their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal residence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, or Anbar, held the second rank in the province: a city large, populous, and well fortified, surrounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; and the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians maintained their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous, defence; till the lucky stroke of a battering-ram having opened a large breach, by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers of Julian rushed impetuously into the town; and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Perisabor was reduced to ashes; and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was continued by an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their balistæ and catapultæ, was counter-balanced by the advantage of the ground on the side of the besieged. But as soon as an *helepolis* had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts; the tremendous aspect of a

moving turret, that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture, were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service: the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, which of Maogamalcha. was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was distributed for that purpose into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage; till their in-

trepid leader whispered back the intelligence, that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might ensure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison, by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The Persians, who from their walls contemptuously beheld the progress of an impotent attack, celebrated with songs of triumph the glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor, that he might ascend the starry mansion of Ormusd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. History has recorded the name of a private soldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted tower. The passage was widened by his companions, who pressed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison abandoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates were instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, unless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an undistinguishing massacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promise of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the honour of prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were rased to the ground; and not a vestige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the capital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriously enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an eastern monarch. The pleasant situation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, fountains, and shady walks; and spacious parks were enclosed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a considerable expense for the pleasure of the royal chase. The park walls were broke down, the savage game was abandoned to the darts of the

soldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occasion, showed himself ignorant or careless of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. Yet these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any vehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple naked statue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more genuine value than all these rude and costly monuments of barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the miseries of human life¹.

CHAP.
XXIV.

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persians: and the painters of that nation represented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a consuming fire^m. To his friends and soldiers the philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conspicuously displayed than in the last and most active period of his life. He practised, without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wisdom which assumes an absolute dominion over the mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of the most natural appetitesⁿ. In the warm climate of Assyria, which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every sensual desire^o, a youthful conqueror preserved his chas-

Personal
behaviour
of Julian.

¹ The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus, xxiv. 2, 3, 4, 5; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 112—123. p. 335—347; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 168—180; and Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 113, 144. The military criticisms of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

^m Libanius de ulciscenda Juliani nece, c. 13. p. 162.

ⁿ The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio, were acts of justice. Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

^o Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvenal. Satir. i. 104.) observes, that nihil corruptius moribus. The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men in licentious banquets: and as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, they gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the incumbrance of dress; ad ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Q. Curtius, v. 1.

CHAP.
XXIV.

tity pure and inviolate: nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty^P, who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the same firmness that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the hardships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, shared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. In every useful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and strenuous; and the imperial purple was wet and dirty as the coarse garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed him some remarkable opportunities of signalising his personal valour, which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before the citadel of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till he was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons, and huge stones, that were directed against his person. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Persians, devoting themselves for their country, suddenly rushed upon him with drawn scimitars: the emperor dexterously received their blows on his uplifted shield; and, with a steady and well aimed thrust, laid one of his adversaries dead at his feet. The esteem of a prince who possesses the virtues which he approves, is the noblest recompense of a deserving subject; and the authority which Julian derived from his personal merit, enabled him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient discipline. He punished with death or ignominy the misbehaviour of three troops of horse, who, in a skirmish with the surenas, had lost their honour and one of their standards: and he distinguished

^P Ex virginibus autem, quæ speciosæ sunt captæ, et in Perside, ubi foeminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contractare aliquam voluit nec videre. Ammian. xxiv. 4. The native race of Persians is small and ugly; but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. Herodot. l. iii. c. 97; Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. iii. p. 420.

with *obsidional*¹ crowns the valour of the foremost soldiers who had ascended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the siege of Perisabor, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the insolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained that their services were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave and manly language of a Roman. "Riches are the object of your desires? those riches are in the hands of the Persians; and the spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of your valour and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which formerly possessed such immense treasures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our princes have been persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, to purchase with gold the tranquillity of the barbarians. The revenue is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the provinces are dispeopled. For myself, the only inheritance that I have received from my royal ancestors, is a soul incapable of fear; and as long as I am convinced that every real advantage is seated in the mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an honourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was considered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory and that virtue may be your own, if you will listen to the voice of heaven and of your leader. But if you will rashly persist, if you are determined to renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old seditions, proceed—As it becomes an emperor who has filled the first rank among men, I am prepared to die standing; and to despise a precarious life which, every hour, may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you, (I speak it with pride and pleasure,) there are many chiefs whose merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the most important war. Such has

¹ Obsidionalibus coronis donati. Ammian. xxiv. 4. Either Julian or his historian were unskilful antiquaries. He should have given *mural* crowns. The *obsidional* were the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. v. 6.

C H A P.
XXIV.

He transports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

been the temper of my reign, that I can retire, without regret and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station^r." The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations, (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian,) "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!" "Thus may I restore the strength and splendour of the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul: but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha that he allowed himself to say, "We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch^s."

The successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia, was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended, without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations^t. Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which in the time of Julian was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesi-

^r I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing it. I have used some slight freedoms, and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

^s Ammian. xxiv. 3; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122. p. 346.

^t M. d'Anville (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 246—259.) has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, etc. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle, (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650—780.) seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but intolerably vain and prolix.

phon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, *the cities*, which the orientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the Sassanides; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital was strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, and by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia the camp of Julian was fixed; and secured, by a ditch and rampart, against the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of Coche. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the Romans were plentifully supplied with water and forage; and several forts, which might have embarrassed the motions of the army, submitted, after some resistance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the Tigris, at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha*, the intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet and army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the total destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same country, he soon recollected, that his warlike predecessor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at some distance *above* the cities. From the information of the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient work, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By the indefatigable labour of the soldiers, a

* The royal canal (Nahar-Malcha) might be successively restored, altered, divided, etc. (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 453:) and these changes may serve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it must have fallen into the Euphrates *below* Ctesiphon.

C H A P.
XXIV.

broad and deep channel was speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A strong dike was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha; a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

Passage of
the Tigris,
and victory
of the Ro-
mans.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad and rapid; the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the same ease, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans*. In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, fourscore vessels were gradually unladen; and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure; but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent; and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and

* Καὶ μέγεθσιν ἐλεφάντων, οἷς ἴσον ἔργον διὰ σταχύων ἔλθειν, καὶ φαλάγγος. Rien n'est beau que le vrai: a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

respectful astonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances'. Julian contented himself with observing, that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream, nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank; and, as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side; and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously converted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our fellow-soldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already masters of the bank; see—they make the appointed signal: let us hasten to emulate and assist their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current; and they reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed to extinguish the flames, and rescue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were increased by the weight of armour and the darkness of the night. A shower of stones, darts, and fire, was incessantly discharged on the heads of the assailants; who, after an arduous struggle, climbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the rampart. As soon as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who with his light infantry had led the attack², darted through

¹ Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name *Sallust*. Ammianus says of all the leaders, quod acri metu terribi duces concordii precatu fieri prohibere tentarent.

² Hinc imperator . . . (says Ammianus) ipse cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per prima postremaque discurrens, etc. Yet Zosimus, his friend, does not allow him to pass the river till two days after the battle.

CHAP.
XXIV.

the ranks a skilful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, according to the precepts of Homer^a, were distributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the imperial army sounded to battle. The Romans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured steps to the animating notes of martial music; launched their formidable javelins; and rushed forwards with drawn swords, to deprive the barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of their missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was changed into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the surenas himself. They were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the dismayed city^b, if their general Victor, who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to desist from a rash attempt, which must be fatal, if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans acknowledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the barbarians had left on the field of battle two thousand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest soldiers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an oriental camp; large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous

^a Secundum Homericam dispositionem. A similar disposition is ascribed to the wise Nestor, in the fourth book of the Iliad: and Homer was never absent from the mind of Julian.

^b Persas terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totius gentis, apertas Ctesiphontis portas victor miles intrasset, ni major prædæ occasio fuisset, quam cura victoriæ. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 28. Their avarice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity^c.

CHAP.
XXIV.

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which composed near two-thirds of the whole army, were securely wafted over the Tigris^d. While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the north, in full expectation, that as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans^e; and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon, as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive by what arts of fortification, a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provi-

Situation
and obsti-
nacy of
Julian.
A.D. 363,
June.

^c The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory, are described by Ammianus, xxiv. 5, 6; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 124—128. p. 347.—353; Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 115; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 181—183; and Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 28.

^d The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first only had passed during the night: Ammian. xxiv. 6. The *πᾶσα δορυφορία*, whom Zosimus transports on the third day, (l. iii. p. 183.) might consist of the protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually served; some *schools* of the *domestics*, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

^e Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15. p. 246.) supplies us with a national tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and Libanius: Orat. Parent. c. 131. p. 355.

CHAP.
XXIV.

sions, battering engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from the love of glory and contempt of danger which formed the character of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or imaginary obstacles^f. At the very time when he declined the siege of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, the most flattering offers of a negociation of peace. Sapor, who had been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Constantius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the distant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to march without delay to the assistance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended the passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of his hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refused to purchase, with one half of his kingdom, the safety of the remainder; and he would have gladly subscribed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private business, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly despatched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in the language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into the presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he listened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted the sentiments of his birth or the duties of his situation, was equally inclined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate the

^f *Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum. Ammianus, xxiv. 7.* His fellow-soldier, Eutropius, turns aside from the difficulty: *Assyriamque populatus, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquamdiu habuit; remeansque victor, etc. x. 16.* Zosimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate.

calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. C H A P.
XXIV.
He was astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remembered, most unfortunately for himself and for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. But as Julian was sensible, that the hope of a safe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops; he earnestly requested, that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp^a.

The honour, as well as interest, of Julian, forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon; and as often as he defied the barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the great king. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame^b. With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered himself as the

He burns
his fleet,

^a Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 130. p. 354. c. 139. p. 361; Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. The ecclesiastical historian imputes the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus. Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

^b The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 115, 116.) may derive some credit from the testimony of two abbreviators (Sextus Rufus and Victor,) and the casual hints of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357.) and Ammianus, xxiv. 7. The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed, in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great an expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two, small vessels were saved, to accompany on carriages the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judgement of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troopsⁱ. Yet there are not wanting some specious, and perhaps solid reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis^k. The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of

ⁱ See Ammianus, xxiv. 7; Libanius, *Orat. Parentalis*, c. 132, 133. p. 356, 357; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 183; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 26; Gregory, *Orat.* iv. p. 116; Augustin de *Civitate Dei*, l. iv. c. 29. l. v. c. 21. Of these, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero; who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguish the flames.

^k Consult Herodotus, l. i. c. 194; Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1074; and Tavernier, p. 1. l. ii. p. 152.

forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river¹, which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts^m. The power of sails and oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquestⁿ.

The cumbersome train of artillery and waggons and marches which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans^o. Yet, in every age, the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a deso-

CHAP.
XXIV.

¹ A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellat Medi sagittam. Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 31.

^m One of these dikes, which produces an artificial cascade or cataract, is described by Tavernier, part i. l. ii. p. 226; and Thevenot, part ii. l. i. p. 193. The Persians, or Assyrians, laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river: Strabo, l. xv. p. 1075; D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 98, 99.

ⁿ Recollect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico.

^o See the judicious reflections of the author of the *Essai sur la Tactique*, tom. ii. p. 287—353. and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 351—382. on the baggage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

lated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates^p, and the unwholesome air was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects^q. The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions, which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of

^p The Tigris rises to the south, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Dissertation of Foster, inserted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 26.

^q Ammianus (xxiv. 8.) describes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Curds, or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, fifteen, and twenty fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandman. Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 279. 285.

Ecbatana, or Susa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march^r; but he was deprived of this last resource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad: the Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, escaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as they were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conspiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which had so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public distress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success, without obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the resolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding troops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after they had passed the Chaboras, with the sanguine expectation of subverting the throne of Persia^s.

June 16.

As long as the Romans seemed to advance into the country, their march was observed and insulted from a distance by several bodies of Persian cavalry; who showing themselves, sometimes in loose and sometimes in closer order, faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. The Romans, who

Retreat and
distress of
the Roman
army.

^r Isidore of Charax (Mansion. Parthic. p. 5, 6. in Hudson, Geograph. Minor, tom. ii.) reckons one hundred and twenty-nine schœni from Seleucia; and Thevenot, (part i. l. i. ii. p. 209—245.) one hundred and twenty-eight hours of march from Bagdad to Ecbatana, or Hamadan. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles.

^s The march of Julian from Ctesiphon, is circumstantially, but not clearly, described by Ammianus, xxiv. 7, 8; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134. p. 357; and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 183. The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

C H A P.
XXIV.

now aspired only to the permission of a safe and speedy retreat, endeavoured to persuade themselves, that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild asses, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, passed the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered, at the dawn of day, that they were surrounded by an army of Persians. This army, which might be considered only as the van of the barbarians, was soon followed by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons, and many of the principal satraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend or divide, according to varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans: several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person, and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit; and as the horsemen of the east were trained to dart their javelins and shoot their arrows at full speed, and in every possible direction^t, the cavalry of Persia

^t Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (tom iii. p. 57, 58, etc. edit. in 4to.) the education and dexterity of the Persian

was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian summer; their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat, in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman camp^u. Julian, who always contented himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have disdained, distributed, for the use of the troops, the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public distress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy apprehensions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they should all perish, either by famine, or by the sword of the barbarians^x.

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. When-
Julian is mortally wounded.
ever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering with a funereal veil his head and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The mon-

horsemen. Brissonius (de Regno Persico, p. 650. 661, etc.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity.

^u In Mark Antony's retreat, an attic chænix sold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings: barley bread was sold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch, (tom. v. p. 102—116.) without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies, and involved in the same distress.

^x Ammian. xxiv. 8. xxv. 1; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 184, 185, 186; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 134, 135. p. 357, 358, 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant that the troops were hungry.

CHAP.
XXIV.

arch started from his couch, and, stepping forth to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war[†]; the council which he summoned of Tuscan haruspices[‡], unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but on this occasion necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a consummate general: he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without

[†] Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, *nunquam se Marti sacra facturum*, xxiv. 6. Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public professions. See Hume's philosophical reflections, Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

[‡] They still retained the monopoly of the vain but lucrative science which had been invented in Etruria, and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens from the ancient books of Tarquinius, a Tuscan sage.

armour, and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed^a, a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after rasing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour, and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. The Persians derived some honour from the advantage which they obtained against the left wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the prefect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the barbarians. They abandoned the field, their two generals, Meranes and Nohordates^b, fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments

^a Clamabant hinc inde *candidati* (see the note of Valesius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. Ammian. xxv. 3.

^b Sapor himself declared to the Romans, that it was his practice to comfort the families of his deceased satraps, by sending them, as a present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Libanius de nece Julian. ultia. c. xiii. p. 163.

The death
of Julian.
A. D. 363,
June 26.

with the firm temper of a hero and a sage: the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor^c. "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived; and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety^d; and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke, that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination)

^c The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion, that he had previously composed the elaborate oration which Ammianus heard and has transcribed. The version of the abbé de la Bleterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original.

^d Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter, (in the sixteenth book of the Iliad,) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate.—Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent, or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign.” After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a military testament*, the remains of his private fortune; and making some enquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven and with the stars†. The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed

* The soldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments upon actual service, (in procinctu,) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius, *Antiquit. Jur. Roman.* tom. i. p. 504. and Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxvii.

† This union of the human soul with the divine ethereal substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations, *Divine Legation*, vol. ii. p. 199—216.

CHAP. with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed
XXIV. by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught
 of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired
 without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was
 the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second
 year of his age, after a reign of one year and about
 eight months from the death of Constantius. In his
 last moments he displayed, perhaps with some osten-
 tation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been
 the ruling passions of his life^s.

Election of
 the emperor
 Jovian.
 A.D. 363,
 June 27.

The triumph of christianity, and the calamities of
 the empire, may, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian
 himself, who had neglected to secure the future exe-
 cution of his designs, by the timely and judicious nomi-
 nation of an associate and successor. But the royal
 race of Constantius Chlorus was reduced to his own
 person; and if he entertained any serious thoughts of
 investing with the purple the most worthy among the
 Romans, he was diverted from his resolution by the
 difficulty of the choice, the jealousy of power, the fear
 of ingratitude, and the natural presumption of health,
 of youth, and of prosperity. His unexpected death
 left the empire without a master and without an heir,
 in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space
 of fourscore years, had never been experienced, since
 the election of Diocletian. In a government which
 had almost forgotten the distinction of pure and noble
 blood, the superiority of birth was of little moment;
 the claims of official rank were accidental and preca-
 rious; and the candidates who might aspire to ascend
 the vacant throne, could be supported only by the con-
 sciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular
 favour. But the situation of a famished army, encom-
 passed on all sides by an host of barbarians, shortened
 the moments of grief and deliberation. In this scene

^s The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus, (xxv. 3.) an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances: Orat. Parental. c. 136—140. p. 359—362. The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *silently* despised.

of terror and distress, the body of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military senate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable prefect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, showed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer^b, that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first*ⁱ of the domestics, with the names of emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by

^b Honoratior aliquis miles; perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present: xxv. 5.

ⁱ The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and, though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian. l. vi. tit. xxiv. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

CHAP.
XXIV.

the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a christian^k and a soldier. Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension, that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity was obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, a few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual distress^l.

Danger and
difficulty of
the retreat.
June 27—
July 1.

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by the joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the camp of Sapor, in-

^k The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, l. iii. c. 22. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3. and Theodoret, l. iv. c. 1. ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign; and piously suppose, that he refused the purple, till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were christians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence. *Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis, pronunciatum est, etc. xxv. 6.*

^l Ammianus (xxv. 10.) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian; to which the younger Victor has added some remarkable strokes. The abbé de la Bleterie (*Histoire de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 1—238.) has composed an elaborate history of his short reign; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, critical disquisition, and religious prejudice.

spired the desponding monarch with a sudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thousand *immortals*^m, to second and support the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their soldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering valour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a great slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived in the evening at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Ctesiphonⁿ. On the ensuing day, the barbarians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp of Jovian; which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. From the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with desperate courage through the pretorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the imperial tent. In the succeeding night, the camp of Carhe was protected by the lofty dikes of the river; and the Roman army, though incessantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura^o, four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left; their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers,

^m *Regius equitatus*. It appears from Procopius, that the immortals, so famous under Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use that improper word, by the Sassanides. Brisson de Regno Persico, p. 268, etc.

ⁿ The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably lost; nor can we name the field of battle where Julian fell: but M. d'Anville has demonstrated the precise situation of Sumere, Carhe, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris. *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 248; *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 95. 97. In the ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the royal residence of the khalifs of the house of Abbas.

^o Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia. Polybius, l. v. c. 48—52. p. 548—552. edit. Casaubon, in 8vo.

CHAP.
XXIV.

who had fondly persuaded themselves, that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness; by representing, that if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure, which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night, they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines^p. Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the barbarians; whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the imperial army^q.

Negotiation
and treaty
of peace.
July.

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of

^p A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, l. iii. p. 255, 256, 257. It appears from our modern travellers, that rafts floating on bladders perform the trade and navigation of the Tigris.

^q The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus, xxv. 6; Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 146. p. 364; and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 189, 190, 191. Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (*uno a Persis atque altero proelio victus*, x. 17.) must incline us to suspect that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms.

doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The *surenas* himself, accompanied by another satrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian^r; and declared, that the clemency of his sovereign was not averse to signify the conditions on which he would consent to spare and to dismiss the Cæsar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council and the cries of the soldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the prefect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Arinthæus, to understand the pleasure of the great king. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedients, receded from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consumed the stock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance only of one hundred miles^s. The irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and

^r Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 29.) embraces a poor subterfuge of national vanity. *Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Persis primus de pace sermo haberetur.*

^s It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a soldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand, *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab; or *how* an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

C H A P. accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which
XXIV. it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis; which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorously insisted, that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years, was stipulated between the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by solemn oaths and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance of the conditions[†].

The weakness and disgrace of Jovian.

The sophist of Antioch, who saw with indignation the sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a christian successor, professes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. If he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been secure, says Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Persia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury[‡]. Without adopting in its full force this malicious insinuation, we must acknowledge, that the conclusion of

[†] The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus, xxv. 7; Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 142. p. 364; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 190, 191; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 117, 118; who imputes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian; and Eutropius, x. 17. The last-mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace *necessarium quidem sed ignobilem*.

[‡] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 143. p. 364, 365.

so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians; that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris¹. In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura², the ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or provisions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and success depended much more on their character than on their situation. Instead of tamely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and private views of a single person, the united councils of the Greeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular assembly; where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conscious of their superiority over the barbarians in arms and discipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate: every obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and military skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand exposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy³.

As the price of his disgraceful concessions, the emperor might perhaps have stipulated, that the camp of

He continues his retreat to Nisibis.

* Conditionibus . . . dispendiosis Romanæ reipublicæ impositis . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquevit. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. La Bleterie has expressed, in a long direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest. Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 39, etc.

¹ The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (Anabasis, l. ii. p. 156. l. iii. p. 226.) or great Zab, a river of Assyria, four hundred feet broad, which falls into the Tigris fourteen hours below Mosul. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the names of the Wolf (Lycus,) and the Goat (Capros.) They created these animals to attend the Tiger of the east.

² The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid: the *Anabasis* circumstantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.

CHAP.
XXIV.

the hungry Romans should be plentifully supplied^{*}; and that they should be permitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was constructed by the hands of the Persians. But if Jovian presumed to solicit those equitable terms, they were sternly refused by the haughty tyrant of the east, whose clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens sometimes intercepted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor respected the cessation of arms; and Jovian was suffered to explore the most convenient place for the passage of the river. The small vessels, which had been saved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the most essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many successive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being left on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too impatient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles or inflated skins; and, drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to the avarice or cruelty of the wild Arabs: and the loss which the army sustained in the passage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Romans had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from the hostile pursuit of the barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they endured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They were obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent of seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet grass, nor a single spring of fresh water;

^{*} According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms, that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 702.

and the rest of the inhospitable waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be discovered in the camp, twenty pounds' weight were greedily purchased with ten pieces of gold^b: the beasts of burden were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whose tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed their past sufferings and actual misery. A small convoy of provisions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur; and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared the fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thilsaphata^c the emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopotamia; and the remains of a once flourishing army at length reposed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe, by placing the military command in the hands of those officers who, from motives of interest or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor^d.

C H A P.
XXIV.

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the success of his expedition. They entertained a fond persuasion, that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the east; that Persia would

Universal
clamour
against the
treaty of
peace.

^b We may recollect some lines of Lucan, (*Pharsal.* iv. 95.) who describes a similar distress of Cæsar's army in Spain:

Sæva fames aderat—

Miles eget: toto censu non prodigus emit

Exiguam Cererem. Proh luci pallida tabes!

Non deest prolato jejunos venditor auro.

See Guichardt, *Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires*, tom. i. p. 379—382. His analysis of the two campaigns in Spain and Africa, is the noblest monument that has ever been raised to the fame of Cæsar.

^c M. d'Anville (see his maps, and *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 92, 93.) traces their march, and assigns the true position of Hatra, Ur, and Thilsaphata, which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the samiel, the deadly hot wind, which Thevenot (*Voyages*, part ii. l. i. p. 192.) so much dreaded.

^d The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus, xxv. 9; Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 143. p. 365; and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 194.

CHAP.
XXIV.

be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters^e. The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they persisted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event^f. The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the east^g. The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the

^e Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 145. p. 366. Such were the natural hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

^f The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to paganism, buried the inauspicious messenger under a pile of stones. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196. Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword: but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the panegyric of Julian. Libanius *de Vita sua*, tom. ii. p. 45, 46.

^g Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace, which exposed them to the Persians, on a naked and defenceless frontier. Excerpt. *Valesiana*, p. 845. ex Joanne Antiocheno.

unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of her captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancient times^b.

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his constitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws and arms of the state; and the same motives which had forced him to subscribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a few provinces; and the respectable names of religion and honour concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Nisibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, the ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from the citadel the standard of the great king, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The principal citizens of Nisibis, who till that fatal moment had confided in the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, exasperated by the three successive defeats which he had experienced under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requested only the permission of using them in their own defence; and, as soon as they had asserted their independence, they should implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the

CHAP.
XXIV.

Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and restores the five provinces to the Persians. August.

^b The abbé de la Bleterie, (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 212—227.) though a severe casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; since he *could not* dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, the allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in such political metaphysics.

sanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the present of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeless condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O emperor! may you thus be crowned by all the cities of your dominions!" Jovian, who, in a few weeks had assumed the habits of a prince¹, was displeased with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reasonably supposed, that the discontent of the people might incline them to submit to the Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion². The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended: the disconsolate mourner dropt a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold, and clung to the doors, of the house where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Meso-

¹ At Nisibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his namesake, who had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown into a well, and stoned to death, without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. Ammian. xxv. 8.

² See xxv. 9. and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 194, 195.

potamia¹. Similar orders were despatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy^m.

CHAP.
XXIV.

After Jovian had performed those engagements which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antiochⁿ. Without consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted, by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign^o: and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the east, was saluted by the hostile factions with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the christians pursued the soul

Reflections
on the
death

¹ Chron. Paschal. p. 300. The ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted.

^m Zosimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193; Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29; Augustin de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution.

ⁿ Ammianus, xxv. 9; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196. He might be edax, et vino Venerique indulgens. But I agree with la Bleterie (tom. i. p. 148—154.) in rejecting the foolish report of a bacchanalian riot, (ap. Suidam,) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his wife, and a troop of concubines.

^o The abbé de la Bleterie (tom. i. p. 156. 209.) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, ne cespititia quidem sepultura dignus.

of the apostate to hell, and his body to the grave^p. One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia^q; and, instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith^r. Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries^s; who darkly insinuated, or confidently asserted, that the governors of the church had instigated and directed the fanaticism of a domestic assassin^t. Above sixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to the emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by fact or argument; and we can only esteem the gener-

^p Compare the sophist and the saint: Libanius, *Moned. tom. ii. p. 251.* and *Orat. Parent. c. 145. p. 367. c. 156. p. 377.* with Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. iv. p. 125—132.* The christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and forgiveness: but he is well satisfied that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

^q Tillemont (*Hist. des. Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 549.*) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, etc.

^r Sozomen (*l. vi. 2.*) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide*; but the whole passage, which a jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

^s Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was scattered, *telo cecidisse Romano*. It was carried, by some deserters, to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the assassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects: *Ammian. xxv. 6*; *Libanius de ulciscenda Juliani nece, c. xiii. p. 162, 163.* It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward: *Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141. p. 363.* But the flying horseman, who darted the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

^t *Ὅς τις ἐντολὴν πληρῶν τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχοῦντι.* This dark and ambiguous expression may point to Athanasius, the first, without a rival, of the christian clergy: *Libanius de ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 5. p. 149*; *la Bletterie, Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 179.*

ous zeal of the sophist of Antioch, for the cold and neglected ashes of his friend^u. CHAP.
XXIV.

It was an ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be corrected by that of satire and ridicule; and that, in the midst of the splendid pageants which displayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from the eyes of the world^x. This custom was practised in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt and aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a christian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of the faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various character and singular manners afforded an ample scope for pleasantry and ridicule^y. In the exercise of his uncommon talents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was degraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by excessive vanity; his superstition disturbed the peace and endangered the safety of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies were the less entitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb, which arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus^z, was displeasing to the faithful friends who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher ex-

^u The orator (Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 145—179.) scatters suspicions, demands enquiry, and insinuates, that proofs might still be obtained. He ascribes the success of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

^x At the funeral of Vespasian, the comedian who personated that frugal emperor, anxiously enquired how much it cost—"Fourscore thousand pounds" (centies)—"Give me the tenth part of the sum, and throw my body into the Tiber." Sueton. in *Vespasian.* c. 19. with the notes of Casaubon and Gronovius.

^y Gregory (*Orat.* iv. p. 119, 120.) compares this supposed ignominy and ridicule to the funeral honours of Constantius, whose body was chanted over mount Taurus by a choir of angels.

^z Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 4. The luxuriance of his descriptions has been often censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river whose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

CHAP.
XXIV.

pressed a very reasonable wish, that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy^a: while the soldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue^b. The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

^a Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156. p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian: De ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 7. p. 152.

^b Cujus suprema et cineres, si qui tunc juste consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus; sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum præterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem æternam, divorumque veterum monumenta præstringens. Ammian. xxv. 10.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF JOVIAN.—ELECTION OF VALENTINIAN, WHO ASSOCIATES HIS BROTHER VALENS, AND MAKES THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN EMPIRES.—REVOLT OF PROCOPIUS.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION.—GERMANY.—BRITAIN.—AFRICA.—THE EAST.—THE DANUBE.—DEATH OF VALENTINIAN.—HIS TWO SONS, GRATIAN AND VALENTINIAN THE SECOND, SUCCEED TO THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary, treaty^a; and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The christians had forgotten the spirit of the gospel; and the pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the east were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced

State of the
church.
A.D. 363.

^a The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide: she destroys herself with her own hands.

to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces; in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable distributions^b. The christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the east were crowded with homoousian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of the prince were assaulted, and perhaps astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective^c. The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference: but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared, by the reverence which he

^b Jovian restored to the church *τὸν ἀρχαῖον κόσμον*; a forcible and comprehensive expression. Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 5. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 329; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 3. The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns, (Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2.) is exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator.

^c Compare Socrates, l. iii. c. 25. and Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 6. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 330.

expressed for the *celestial*^d virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes^e. As soon as he had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer^f, the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual prayer^g.

CHAP.
XXV.

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported

Jovian proclaims universal toleration.

^d The word *celestial* faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, *τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων ὁμοιώσεως*. See the original epistle in Athanasius, tom. ii. p. 33. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 392.) celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 221.

^e Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by la Bletterie; (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 121—148;) he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in his eyes, the character of justice.

^f The true era of his death is perplexed with some difficulties. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 719—723. But the date (A. D. 373, May 2.) which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic life. Maffei, Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. iii. p. 81.

^g See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 38.) on the original letter of Athanasius, which is preserved by Theodoret, l. iv. c. 3. In some manuscripts, this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

C H A P.
XXV.

by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect^a. Under his reign christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers, who had abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign¹. The consternation of the pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the divine nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the christians^k.

^a Athanasius (apud Theodoret, l. iv. c. 3.) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, *παρὰ δλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονοῦντων*. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

¹ Socrates, l. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 131; and Libanius, Orat. Parentalis, c. 148. p. 369; express the *living* sentiments of their respective factions.

^k Themistius, Orat. v. p. 63—71. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1684. The abbé

In the space of seven months the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch¹. He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople; and to prevent the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he despatched from the camp of Mesopotamia, he had delegated the military command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his courage and conduct in the defence of Nisibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts^m. But the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeased the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The oath of fidelity was administered, and taken with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the western armiesⁿ saluted their new sovereign as he descended

CHAP.
XXV.

His progress from
Antioch.
A. D. 363,
October.

de la Bleterie judiciously remarks, (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 199.) that Sozomen has forgot the general toleration; and Themistius, the establishment of the catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked; and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honourable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.

¹ Οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχείς οὐχ ἡδέως διεκείντο πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ἐπεσκώπτον αὐτὸν ψδαῖς καὶ παρψδαῖς, καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φαιώσσοις, (*fumosis libellis*.) Johan. Antiochen. in Excerpt. Valesian. p. 845. The libels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

^m Compare Ammianus, (xxv. 10.) who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zosimus, (l. iii. p. 197.) who removes the scene of action from Rheims to Sirinium.

ⁿ Quos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Ammian. xxv. 10. and Vales. ad locum.

CHAP.
XXV.

A.D. 364,
January 1.

Death of
Jovian.
Feb. 17.

from mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship^o. Dadastana^p, an obscure town, almost at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome moisture of the fresh plaster^q. But the want of a regular enquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign and person were soon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whispers of poison and domestic guilt^r. The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors; and the sad procession was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to

^o *Cujus vagitus, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sella veheretur ex more, id quod mox accidit protendebat.* Augustus and his successors respectfully solicited a dispensation of age for the sons or nephews whom they raised to the consulship. But the curule chair of the first Brutus had never been dishonoured by an infant.

^p The itinerary of Antoninus fixes Dadastana one hundred and twenty-five Roman miles from Nice; one hundred and seventeen from Ancyra: Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 142. The pilgrim of Bordeaux, by omitting some stages, reduces the whole space from two hundred and forty-two to one hundred and eighty-one miles. Wesseling, p. 574.

^q See Ammianus, xxv. 10; Eutropius, x. 18. who might likewise be present; Jerome, tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodorum; Orosius, vii. 31; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 197, 198; and Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 28, 29. We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss minute differences.

^r Ammianus, unmindful of his usual candour and good sense, compares the death of the harmless Jovian to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the fears and resentment of the popular faction.

dry her tears in the embraces of an imperial husband. CHAP.
XXV.
Her disappointment and grief were imbibed by the anxiety of maternal tenderness. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *nobilissimus*, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government, that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease with his blood the suspicions of the reigning prince*.

After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days[†] without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice, in Bithynia, which was chosen for the place of the election[‡]. In a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the prefect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the prefect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one,

Vacancy of
the throne.
February
17—26.

* Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 336. 344. edit. Montfaucon. The christian orator attempts to comfort a widow by the examples of illustrious misfortunes; and observes, that of nine emperors, (including the Cæsar Gallus,) who had reigned in his time, only two (Constantine and Constantius) died a natural death. Such vague consolations have never wiped away a single tear.

† Ten days appear scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed, 1. That the generals might command the expeditious use of the public posts for themselves, their attendants, and messengers. 2. That the troops, for the ease of the cities, marched in many divisions; and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice, when the rear halted at Ancyra.

‡ Ammianus, xxvi. 1; Zosimus, l. iii. p. 198; Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 8; and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 334. Philostorgius, who appears to have obtained some curious and authentic intelligence, ascribes the choice of Valentinian to the prefect Sallust, the master-general Arintheus, Dagalaiphus, count of the domestics, and the patrician Datianus, whose pressing recommendations from Ancyra had a weighty influence in the election.

C H A P.
XXV.

Election
and cha-
racter of
Valenti-
nian.

and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed; and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected: but as soon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation of Sallust himself. Valentinian^{*} was the son of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis in Pannonia, who, from an obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired, with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son; and afforded him an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear; and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own and the public esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature: he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never disconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occasion prompted him, to deliver his decided sentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial discipline were the only laws that he had studied; and he was soon distin-

^{*} Ammianus, (xxx. 7. 9.) and the younger Victor, have furnished the portrait of Valentinian; which naturally precedes and illustrates the history of his reign.

guished by the laborious diligence, and inflexible severity, with which he discharged and enforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of disgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expressed for the reigning religion¹; and it should seem, from his subsequent conduct, that the indiscreet and unseasonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military spirit, rather than of christian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and still employed by a prince who esteemed his merit²; and in the various events of the Persian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and success with which he executed an important commission, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and to the honourable command of the second *school*, or company, of targetteers, of the domestic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly summoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to assume, in the forty-third year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman empire.

The invitation of the ministers and generals at Nice was of little moment, unless it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Sallust, who had long observed the irregular fluctuations of popular assemblies, proposed, under pain of death, that none of those persons, whose rank in the service might excite a party in their favour, should appear in public on the day of the inauguration. Yet such was the prevalence of ancient superstition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the bissextile³. At length,

¹ At Antioch, where he was obliged to attend the emperor to the temple, he struck a priest, who had presumed to purify him with lustral water. Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 15. Such public defiance might become Valentinian; but it could leave no room for the unworthy delation of the philosopher Maximus, which supposes some more private offence. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 200, 201.

² Socrates, l. iv. A previous exile to Melitene, or Thebais, (the first might be possible,) is interposed by Sozomen, l. vi. c. 6; and Philostorgius, l. vii. c. 7. with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 293.

³ Ammianus, in a long, because unseasonable, digression (xxvi. 1. and

He is acknowledged by the army. A. D. 364, Feb. 26.

C H A P.
XXV.

when the hour was supposed to be propitious, Valentinian showed himself from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amidst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentinian obtained silence, and commanded respect; and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since, it was in *your* power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now *my* duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life; and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That deliberation shall be *my* care. Let *your* conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies; and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor^b." The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions, and the various

Valesius ad locum) rashly supposes that he understands an astronomical question, of which his readers are ignorant. It is treated with more judgement and propriety by Censorinus (*de Die Natali*, c. 20.) and Macrobius (*Saturnal.* l. i. cap. 12—16.) The appellation of *bissextile*, which marks the inauspicious year (*Augustin. ad Januarium, Epist.* 119.) is derived from the repetition of the sixth day of the calends of March.

^b Valentinian's first speech is full in Ammianus, xxvi. 2. concise and sententious in Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 8.

banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs: and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Daga-laiphus. "Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother; if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans^c." The emperor, who suppressed his displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital^d, thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and as the boldest patriots were convinced, that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inspired the world with any sanguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life^e.

CHAP.
XXV.

And associates his brother Valens, A. D. 364, March 28.

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects, who had been injured or oppressed under the

The final division of the eastern and western

^c Si tuos amas, imperator optime, habes fratrem; si rempublicam, quære quem vestias. Ammian. xxvi. 4. In the division of the empire, Valentinian retained that sincere counsellor for himself: c. 6.

^d In suburbano: Ammian. xxvi. 4. The famous *Hebdomon*, or field of Mars, was distant from Constantinople either seven stadia, or seven miles. See Valesius and his brother, ad loc. and Ducange, Const. l. ii. p. 140, 141. 172, 173.

^e Participem quidem legitimum potestatis; sed in modum apparitoris morigerum, ut progrediens aperiet textus. Ammian. xxvi. 4.

C H A P. reign of Julian, were invited to support their public ac-
XXV. cusations. The silence of mankind attested the spot-

empires.
A.D. 364,
June.

less integrity of the prefect Sallust^f; and his own pressing solicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state, were rejected by Valentinian with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice^g. The greater part of the ministers of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithstanding the opposite clamours of zeal and resentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation^h. The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption, from the sudden illness of the two princes: but as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the castle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empireⁱ. Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich prefecture of the *east*, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike prefectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis; but a double supply of

^f Notwithstanding the evidence of Zonaras, Suidas, and the Paschal Chronicle, M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 671.) wishes to disbelieve these stories, si avantageuses à un payen.

^g Eunapius celebrates and exaggerates the sufferings of Maximus, (p. 82, 83.) yet he allows, that this sophist or magician, the guilty favourite of Julian, and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was dismissed on the payment of a small fine.

^h The loose assertions of a general disgrace (Zosimus, l. iv. p. 201.) are detected and refuted by Tillemont, tom. v. p. 21.

ⁱ Ammianus, xxvi. 5.

generals and magistrates was required for two councils and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation; and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important business had been amicably transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the west established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the east returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant^k.

The tranquillity of the east was soon disturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whose affinity to the emperor Julian^l was his sole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the moon at Carrhæ, had privately invested Procopius with the imperial purple^m. He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he possessed in the province of Capadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sove-

Revolt of
Procopius.
A. D. 365,
Sept. 28.

^k Ammianus says, in general terms, *subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus*. Ammian. xxxi. 14. The orator Themistius, with the genuine impertinence of a Greek, wished, for the first time, to speak the Latin language, the dialect of his sovereign, *την διάλεκτον κραιουσάν*. Orat. vi. p. 71.

^l The uncertain degree of alliance or consanguinity is expressed by the words *ἀνεψιός*, cognatus, consobrinus. See Valesius ad Ammian. xxiii. 3. The mother of Procopius might be a sister of Basilina and count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 49.

^m Ammian. xxiii. 3. xxvi. 6. He mentions the report with much hesitation: *susurravit obscurior fama; nemo enim dicti auctor exstitit verus*. It serves, however, to mark that Procopius was a pagan. Yet his religion does not appear to have promoted or obstructed his pretensions.

CHAP.
XXV.

reigns, Valentinian and Valens, was despatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison, or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite, and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine, from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension, that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation and his disguiseⁿ. By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and an eunuch, and conceived some hopes of success, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the prefecture of the east. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid

ⁿ One of his retreats was a country house of Eunomius, the heretic. The master was absent, innocent, ignorant; yet he narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was banished into the remote parts of Mauritania. Philostorg. l. ix. c. 5. 8; and Godefroy's Dissert. p. 369—378.

since the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitious to the designs of an usurper.

CHAP.
XXV.

The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed or repassed the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators, which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people, who were either ignorant of the cause, or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance: the malcontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and in a few hours Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the imperial city. The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propa-

CHAP.
XXV.

gated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortresses of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxiliaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdued, without an effort, the unarmed but wealthy provinces of Bithynia and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cause of the usurper, whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army, whose valour as well as numbers were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hormisdas^o, a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the east; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantius, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the usurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied in a litter the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks, the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury^p: they recol-

^o Hormisdæ maturo juveni, Hormisdæ regalis illius filio, potestatem proconsulis detulit; et civilia, more veterum, et bella, recturo. Ammian. xxvi. 8. The Persian prince escaped with honour and safety, and was afterwards (A. D. 380.) restored to the same extraordinary office of proconsul of Bithynia. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 204. I am ignorant whether the race of Sassan was propagated. I find (A. D. 514.) a pope Hormisdas; but he was a native of Frusino in Italy. Pagi, Brev. Pontific. tom. i. p. 247.

^p The infant rebel was afterwards the wife of the emperor Gratian; but she died young and childless. See Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 48. 59.

lected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant^a.

In the mean while, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the east. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopt or corrupted, he listened with a doubtful anxiety to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius sole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæsarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers; and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the prefecture of the east, was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens, and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying and deserting the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced by hasty marches to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arinthæus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled

CHAP.
XXV.

His defeat
and death.
A. D. 366,
May 28.

^a Sequimini culminis summi prosapiam, was the language of Procopius; who affected to despise the obscure birth and fortuitous election of the upstart Pannonian. Ammian. xxvi. 7.

CHAP.
XXV.

all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader; and such was the ascendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed^r. Arbetio, a respectable veteran of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honours of the consulship, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he showed his grey hairs and venerable countenance; saluted the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira^s and Nacosia, the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. After wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind^t.

^r Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem, auctoritatis et celsi fiducia corporis, ipsis hostibus jussit, suum vincere rectorem: atque ita turmarum antesignanus umbratilis comprehensus suorum manibus. The strength and beauty of Arinthæus, the new Hercules, are celebrated by St. Basil; who supposes that God had created him as an inimitable model of the human species. The painters and sculptors could not express his figure: the historians appeared fabulous when they related his exploits. Ammian. xxvi. and Vales. ad loc.

^s The same field of battle is placed by Ammianus in Lycia, and by Zosimus at Thyatira; which are at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from each other. But Thyatira alluitor *Lycæ*; (Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 31; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 79.) and the transcribers might easily convert an obscure river into a well known province.

^t The adventures, usurpation, and fall of Procopius, are related, in a regular series, by Ammianus, xxvi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; and Zosimus, l. iv. p. 203—210. They often illustrate, and seldom contradict each other. Themis-

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of CHAP. despotism and rebellion. But the inquisition into the XXV. crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind^a. Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished^x a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions^y. The nations and the sects of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity, and similar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art^z, which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs and execrable rites; which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags and itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives

Severe inquisition into the crime of magic at Rome and Antioch. A. D. 373, etc.

tius (Orat. vii. p. 91, 92.) adds some base panegyric; and Eusebius (p. 83, 84.) some malicious satire.

^a Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. necis, c. ix. p. 158, 159. The sophist deplores the public frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the justice of the emperors.

^x The French and English lawyers of the present age, allow the *theory*, and deny the *practice* of witchcraft. Denisart, Recueil de Décisions de Jurisprudence, au mot *Sorciérs*, tom. iv. p. 553; Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 60. As private reason always prevents or outstrips public wisdom, the president Montesquieu (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. c. 5, 6.) rejects the *existence* of magic.

^y See *Cœuvres* de Bayle, tom. iii. p. 567—589. The sceptic of Rotterdam exhibits, according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge and lively wit.

^z The pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the theurgic and the goetic: *Hist. de l'Académie*, etc. tom. vii. p. 25. But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, *all* demons are infernal spirits; and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apostasy, etc. which deserves death and damnation.

CHAP.
XXV.

in penury and contempt^a. The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed, and continually practised^b. An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege^c. Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent^d. From the infusion of those herbs which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of in-

^a The Camidia of Horace (*Carm.* l. v. od. 5. with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Erictho of Lucan (*Pharsal.* vi. 430—830.) is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the furies; and threatens with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie *below* hell, etc.

^b Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. *Hist.* i. 22. See Augustin. de *Civitate Dei*, l. viii. c. 19. and the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xvi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

^c The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 353—372.) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

^d Limus ut lic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni——

Virgil. *Bucolic.* viii. 80.

Devovit absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.

Ovid. in *Epist. Hypsil.* ad Jason. 91.

Such vain incantations could affect the mind and increase the disease of Germanicus. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 69.

formers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death*. This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the enquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution: the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real or pretended accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers who were appointed to guard the prisons declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant

* See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. ii. p. 353, etc. *Cod. Theodosian.* l. ix. tit. vii. with Godefroy's Commentary.

CHAP.
XXV.

The cruelty
of Valentinian
and
Valens.
A. D.
364—375.

assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants^f.

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers^g. Valens was of a timid^h, and Valentinian of a choleric, dispositionⁱ. An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears which had subdued his own mind, would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused^k.

^f The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus, xxviii. l. xxix. 1, 2; and Zosimus, l. iv. p. 216—218. The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic; (Eunapius in Vit. Sophist. p. 88, 89;) and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself for lost. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 340.

^g Consult the six last books of Ammianus, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers, xxx. 8, 9. xxxi. 14. Tillemont has collected (tom. v. p. 12—18. p. 127—133.) from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

^h The younger Victor asserts, that he was *valde timidus*: yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the head of an army. The same historian attempts to prove, that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candour and judgement, *incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviebat*.

ⁱ Cum esset ad acerbitem naturæ calore propensior poenas per ignes augebat et gladios. Ammian. xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

^k I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his servants.

They urged, with persuasive eloquence, *that*, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power supposes the intention of mischief; *that* the intention is not less criminal than the act; and *that* a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgement of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household or of his empire, slight or even imaginary offences; a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the west were, "Strike off his head;" "Burn him alive;" "Let him be beaten with clubs till he expires¹;" and his most favoured mini-

Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

¹ He sometimes expressed a sentence of death with a tone of pleasantry: "Abi, comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit." A boy who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound; an armourer who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, etc. were the victims of his fury.

CHAP.
XXV.

sters soon understood that, by a rash attempt to dispute or suspend the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty^m. He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death: he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the prefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deserve to share the favour of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bedchamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge, by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woodsⁿ.

Their laws
and govern-
ment.

But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgement of the western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of

^m The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal summons. Ammianus, (xxvii. 7.) strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshipped as martyrs by the christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression. Chron. Paschal. p. 302.

ⁿ Ut bene meritam in sylvas jussit abire *Innoziam*. Ammian. xxix. 3. and Valesius ad locum.

the east, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the prefect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence*, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects; which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants^o; and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of declining science^p. It was his intention, that the arts of rhetoric and grammar should be taught, in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and singular preeminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of thirty-

^o See the Code of Justinian, l. viii. tit. lii. leg. 2. *Unusquisque sobolem suam nutriat. Quod si exponendam putaverit, animadversioni quæ constituta est subiacet.* For the present I shall not interfere in the dispute between Noodt and Binkershoek; how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more civilised state of society.

^p These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, l. xiii. tit. iii. *De Professoribus et Medicis*, and l. xiv. tit. ix. *De Studiis liberalibus Urbis Romæ*. Besides our usual guide, Godefroy, we may consult Giannone, (*Istoria di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 105—111.) who has treated the interesting subject with the zeal and curiosity of a man of letters, who studies his domestic history.

CHAP.
XXV.

one professors in different branches of learning: one philosopher, and two lawyers; five sophists, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin tongue; besides seven scribes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct which was prescribed to the students is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and discipline of a modern university. It was required, that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their native province. Their names, professions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts, or in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The prefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory, by stripes or expulsion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentinian contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty: and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the *defensors*^a, freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights, and to expose their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the east and of the west. Valens was persuaded, that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression; and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength

^a Cod. Theodos. l. i. tit. xi. with Godefroy's *Paratitlon*, which diligently gleanes from the rest of the code.

and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one fourth of the tribute of the east^r. Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burdens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the east, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation^s.

CHAP.
XXV.

But the most honourable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of the *earth* claimed his vigilance, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honour of christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or disguise^t. The

Valentinian
maintains
the religious
toleration.

A. D.
364—375.

^r Three lines of Ammianus (xxxi. 14.) countenance a whole oration of Themistius, (viii. p. 101—120.) full of adulation, pedantry, and commonplace morality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. i. p. 366—396.) has amused himself with celebrating the virtues and genius of Themistius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he lived.

^s Zosimus, l. iv. p. 202; Ammian. xxx. 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of, in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas. By some his frugality was styled avarice. Jerome, Chron. p. 186.

^t Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ; quibus unicuique

CHAP.
XXV.

pagans, the jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast, (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy,) that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

Valens professes Arianism, and persecutes the catholics.

A.D.
367—378.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the christians of the west had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan, might be considered rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the east, from the Euxine to the extremity

quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of Ammianus, xxx. 9; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 204; and Sozomen, l. vi. c. 7. 21. Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration: *Annal. Eccles. A. D. 370. No. 129—132. A. D. 376. No. 3, 4.*

of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops: but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost, clouded the splendour of the triumph; and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus^u, bishop of the imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his christian subjects; as the leaders both of the homoousians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue or the reputation of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but

^u Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptised Valens, (A.D. 367.) he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 14—16. l. iv. c. 4. with Godefroy, p. 82. 206. and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclési. tom. v. p. 474—480, etc.

CHAP.
XXV.

as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the reunion of the *Athanasian heretics* to the body of the catholic church. At first he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred *. The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the homocousian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on ship-board, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor and his Arian ministers. In every contest, the catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the prefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their christian brethren.

Death of
Athanasius.
A.D. 373,
May 2.

* Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxv. p. 432.) insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

The free toleration of the heathen and jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the east¹.

CHAP.
XXV.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to suspect, that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master; and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists². 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument, that the partial severities which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration: and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the west with the cruel persecution of the east³. 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause⁴. The circumstantial narrative has been com-

Just idea of
his persecu-
tion.

¹ This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from Socrates, l. iv; Sozomen, l. vi; Theodoret, l. iv. and the immense compilations of Tillemont; particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.

² Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 78.) has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

³ This reflection is so obvious and forcible, that Orosius (l. vii. c. 32, 33.) delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. c. 32.) that it was appeased by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in the year 374. (Orat. xii. p. 154.) in Latin only. Such contradictions diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the persecution of Valens.

⁴ Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mém. Ecclés.

posed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride^c, the truth of his opinions and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea^d.

3. I am not able to discover, that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamours, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the east to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens^e. The ministers

tom. viii. p. 153—167.) the most authentic circumstances from the panegyrics of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. ii. p. 155—180.) do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

^c Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur . . . qui multa continentiae et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his Chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old manuscripts, which had not been reformed by the monks.

^d This noble and charitable foundation, (almost a new city,) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. p. 439.

^e Cod. Theodos. l. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. Godefroy (tom. iv. p. 409—413.) performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 808.) supposes a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria^f, which was peopled by five thousand monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign^g.

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict^h addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the

Valentinian
restrains
the avarice
of the
clergy.
A.D. 370.

^f See d'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the monastic institutions.

^g Socrates, l. iv. c. 24, 25; Orosius, l. vii. c. 33; Jerome in Chron. p. 189. and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, says Jortin, (Remarks, vol. iv. p. 79.) but what proves the truth of those miracles?

^h Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. Godefroy, (tom. vi. p. 49.) after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic the second, Edward the first of England, and other christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.

CHAP.
XXV.

growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property: and many of these devout females had embraced the doctrines of christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced, for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society. Some ecclesiastic, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart: and the unbounded confidence which they hastily bestowed, was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts, who hastened from the extremities of the east, to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possibly the sole place, in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that *he* was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. The lucrative but disgraceful trade¹, which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age: and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of

¹ The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the vehement invectives of Jerome, tom. i. p. 13. 45. 144, etc. In his turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks; and the *sceleratus*, the *versipellis*, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula: tom. ii. p. 363. He undoubtedly possessed the affections both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares that he never abused his influence to any selfish or sensual purpose.

Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege, which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest: and Jerome, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism^k.

CHAP.
XXV.

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatise the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerome; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character^l. But the splendid vices of the church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in these expressive words: "The prefecture of Juventius was accompanied with peace and plenty: but the tranquillity of his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the distracted people. The ardour of Damasus and Ursinus, to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the prefect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained, by superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed: the well-dis-

Ambition
and luxury
of Damas-
sus, bishop
of Rome.
A. D.
366—384.

^k Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi, et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis clericis ac monachis hac lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem. Jerome (tom. i. p. 13.) discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

^l Three words of Jerome, *sanctæ memoriæ Damasus*, (tom. ii. p. 109.) wash away all his stains; and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. p. 386—424.

CHAP.
XXV.

puted victory remained on the side of his faction; one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies^m were found in the *Basilica* of Sicininusⁿ, where the christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendour of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure, that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons^o; that, as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome^p; and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste, and at the expense, of the Roman pontiffs. How much more rationally," continues the honest pagan, "would those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure and modest virtue to the deity and his true worshippers^q." The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the prefect Prætexta-

^m Jerome himself is forced to allow, *crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratæ*: in Chron. p. 186. But an original *libel* or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirm, that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of his party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

ⁿ The *Basilica* of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the church of S^{ta} Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline hill. Baronius, A. D. 367. N^o. 3; and Donatus, *Roma Antiqua et Nova*, l. iv. c. 3. p. 462.

^o The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*; the ladies' ear-scratcher.

^p Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxxii. p. 526.) describes the pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, etc. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

^q Ammian. xxvii. 3. *Perpetuo numini, verisque ejus cultoribus*. The incomparable pliancy of a polytheist!

tus^r restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the christian religion^a. This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army committed the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit, of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops who pressed him to nominate his colleague, was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious, that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon as the death of Julian had relieved the barbarians from the terror of his name, the most sanguine hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the east, of the north, and of the south. Their inroads were often vexatious, and sometimes formidable; but during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance pro-

CHAP.
XXV.

Foreign
wars.
A.D.
364—375.

A.D.
364—375.

^r Ammianus, who makes a fair report of his prefecture, (xxvii. 9.) styles him præclaræ indolis gravitatisque senator: xxii. 7. and Vales. ad loc. A curious inscription (Gruter, MCII. No. 2.) records, in two columns, his religious and civil honours. In one line he was pontiff of the sun, and of Vesta, augur, quindecimvir, hierophant, etc. etc. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Pretor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consul of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Prefect of Rome. 7. Pretorian prefect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 385. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 241. 736.

^a Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum, et ero protinus christianus: Jerome, tom. ii. p. 165. It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.

CHAP.
XXV.

pected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory narrative. A separate view of the five great theatres of war: I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, V. The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. GER-
MANY.
The Ale-
manni in-
vade Gaul.
A. D. 365.

I. The ambassadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of Ursacius, master of the offices¹; who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminished the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront. The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the suspicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the severity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his

A. D. 366.
January.

¹ Ammian. xxvi. 5. Valerius adds a long and good note on the master of the offices.

soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the trembling Batavians were enclosed within the circle of the imperial army. Valentinian then ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whose misconduct and pusillanimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground; deprecated the indignation of their sovereign; and protested, that if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians resumed their arms; and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni^u. The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered forces of the barbarians. At the head of a well-disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna^x, in the territory of Metz, where he surprised a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time^z to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after

Their defeat.

^u Ammian. xxvii. 1; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 208. The disgrace of the Batavians is suppressed by the contemporary soldier, from a regard for military honour, which could not affect a Greek rhetorician of the succeeding age.

^x See d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul, p. 587. The name of the Moselle, which is not specified by Ammianus, is clearly understood by Mascou: Hist. of the Ancient Germans, vii. 2.

CHAP.
XXV.

the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet; they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonishment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors was pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives escaped to the third and most considerable camp in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the straggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard; and the barbarian chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred men. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chasing the flying remnant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applause of his sovereign, and the ensigns of the consulship for the ensuing year^y. The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the son of Vadomair; a German

July.

^y The battles are described by Ammianus, (xxvii. 2.) and by Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 209.) who supposes Valentinian to have been present.

prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and formidable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans*; and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger is seldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the sword.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspecting moment of a christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine; entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebastian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, most probably on the side of Rhætia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the west. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty and almost inaccessible mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent danger by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explore some secret and unguarded path. A troop of barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuscade; and the emperor, who vigorously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and

CHAP.
XXV.

Valentinian
passes and
fortifies the
Rhine.
A. D. 368.

* Studio solicitante nostrorum, occubuit: Ammian. xxvii. 10.

C H A P.
XXV.

ascended the mountain of Solicinium on three different sides. Every step which they gained increased their ardour, and abated the resistance of the enemy; and after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the barbarians down the northern descent, where count Sebastian was posted to intercept their retreat. After this signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games^a. But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring volunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the north^b. The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works and new arms were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian^c.

The Bur-
gundians.
A. D. 371.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusace and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the

^a The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus, (xxvii. 10.) and celebrated by Ausonius, (Mosell. 421, etc.) who foolishly supposes that the Romans were ignorant of the sources of the Danube.

^b *Immanis enim natio, jam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta; ita sæpius adolescit, ut fuisse longis sæculis æstimetur intacta.* Ammian. xxviii. 5. The count de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 370.) ascribes the fecundity of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers.

^c Ammian. xxviii. 2; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 214. The younger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian: *nova arma meditari; fingere terra seu limo simulacrâ.*

Burgundians; a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race^d, whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. The appellation of *Hendinos* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Sinistus* to the high-priest, of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department^e. The disputed possession of some salt-pits^f engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted by the secret solicitations and liberal offers of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman soldiers who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest^g. An army of fourscore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised: but they were amused

^d Bellicosos et pubis immensæ viribus affluentes; et ideo metuendos finitimis universis. Ammian. xxviii. 5.

^e I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extraordinary facts into general laws. Ammianus ascribes a similar custom to Egypt; and the Chinese have imputed it to the Taksin, or Roman empire. De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part i. p. 79.

^f Salinarum finiumque causa Alemannis sæpe jurgabant. Ammian. xxviii. 5. Possibly they disputed the possession of the *Sala*, a river which produced salt, and which had been the object of ancient contention. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57. and Lipsius ad loc.

^g Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt: and the vague tradition gradually assumed a more regular form. Oros. l. vii. c. 32. It is annihilated by the decisive authority of Pliny, who composed the history of Drusus, and served in Germany, (Plin. Secund. Epist. iii. 5.) within sixty years after the death of that hero. *Germanorum genera* quinque; Vindili, quorum pars *Burgundiones*, etc. Hist. Natur. iv. 28.

CHAP.
XXV.

with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to imbitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and perhaps it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to destroy; as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor himself, with a light and unincumbered band, condescended to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic^b.

The Saxons.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninsula, and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbeⁱ. This contracted territory,

^b The wars and negotiations relative to the Burgundians and Alemanni, are distinctly related by Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5. xxix. 4. xxx. 3; Orosius, l. vii. c. 32; and the chronicles of Jerome and Cassiodorus fix some dates and add some circumstances.

ⁱ *Ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχὴν τῆς Κυβριτικῆς χερσονήσου, Σάξονες.* At the northern extremity of the peninsula, (the Cimbric promontory of Pliny, iv. 27.) Ptolemy fixes the remnant of the Cimbri. He fills the interval between the Saxons and the Cimbri with six obscure tribes, who were united, as early as the sixth century, under the national appellation of Danes. See Cluver. German. Antiq. l. iii. c. 21, 22, 23.

the present duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean; who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who so long defended the liberty of the north against the arms of Charlemagne^k. The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners and loose constitution of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The situation of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and pirates: and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded prospect of the ocean, and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. They possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercules^l, (which, during several months of the year, are obstructed with ice,) confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig, and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the same

^k M. d'Anville (*Etablissement des Etats de l'Europe*, etc. p. 19—26.) has marked the extensive limits of the Saxony of Charlemagne.

^l The fleet of Drusus had failed in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the *Sound*; (styled, from an obvious resemblance, the columns of Hercules;) and the naval enterprise was never resumed. Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 34. The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the naval powers of the Baltic, (c. 44, 46.) was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.

CHAP.
XXV.

standard, were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers, by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German ocean, the British channel, and the bay of Biscay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber; but the sides and upper-works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides^m. In the course of their slow and distant navigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the perils both of the sea and of the shore: their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their mariners was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemyⁿ. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the west, they extended the scene of their depredations; and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security.

^m Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus,——
Sperabat; cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus; et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

Sidon. in Panegyrr. Avit. 369.

The genius of Cæsar imitated, for a particular service, these rude but light vessels, which were likewise used by the natives of Britain. Comment. de Bell. Civil. i. 51. and Guichardt, Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires, tom. ii. p. 41, 42. The British vessels would now astonish the genius of Cæsar.

ⁿ The best original account of the Saxon pirates may be found in Sidonius Apollinaris, (l. viii. epist. 6. p. 223. edit. Sirmond.) and the best commentary in the abbé du Bos; Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Française, etc. tom. i. l. i. c. 16. p. 148—155. See likewise p. 77, 78.

The Saxon boats drew so little water, that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers: their weight was so inconsiderable, that they were transported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the Rhine, might descend, with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces A.D. 371. of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his strength or his abilities unequal to the task, implored the assistance of Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, surrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the imperial armies. They stipulated only a safe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general; who meditated an act of perfidy^o, imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the infantry, who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuscade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuirassiers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge of the sword, to shed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of those desperate savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, had disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons consecrated to the

^o Ammian. (xviii. 5.) justifies this breach of faith to pirates and robbers; and Orosius (l. vii. c. 32.) more clearly expresses their real guilt: *virtute atque agilitate terribiles.*

CHAP. gods the tithe of their *human* spoil; and that they
XXV. ascertained by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice^P.

II. BRI-
TAIN.
The Scots
and Picts.

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride and amused the credulity of our rude ancestors, have insensibly vanished in the light of science and philosophy^Q. The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners; and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances^R. The Roman province was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Calédonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scots and of the Picts^S, who have since experienced a very

^P Symmachus (l. ii. epist. 46.) still presumes to mention the sacred names of Socrates and philosophy. Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, might condemn, (l. viii. epist. 6.) with *less* inconsistency, the human sacrifices of the Saxons.

^Q In the beginning of the last century, the learned Camden was obliged to undermine, with respectful scepticism, the romance of *Brutus*, the Trojan; who is now buried, in silent oblivion, with *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, and her numerous progeny. Yet I am informed, that some champions of the *Milesian colony* may still be found among the original natives of Ireland. A people dissatisfied with their present condition, grasp at any visions of their past or future glory.

^R Tacitus, or rather his father-in-law Agricola, might remark the German or Spanish complexion of some British tribes. But it was their sober deliberate opinion, "In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas . . . sermo haud multum diversus in Vit. Agric. c. xi." Cæsar had observed their common religion; (Comment. de Bello Gallico, vi. 13;) and in his time, the emigration from the Belgic Gaul was a recent, or at least an historical event: v. 10. Camden, the British Strabo, has modestly ascertained our genuine antiquities. Britannia, vol. i. Introduction, p. ii.—xxxii.

^S In the dark and doubtful paths of Caledonian antiquity, I have chosen for my guides two learned and ingenious highlanders, whom their birth and education had peculiarly qualified for that office. See Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, etc. of the Caledonians, by Dr. John Mac-

different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts, have been extinguished by their successful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of corn: and the epithet of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, expressed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property, and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Picts: and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman, and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shepherds and hunters; and, as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of *Scots*, which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of *wanderers*, or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which intersect their country, are plentifully stored with fish; and they gradually ventured to cast their nets in the

pherson, London, 1768, in 4to; and, Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by James Macpherson, esq. London, 1773, in 4to. third edit. Dr. Macpherson was a minister in the Isle of Sky: and it is a circumstance honourable for the present age, that a work, replete with erudition and criticism, should have been composed in the most remote of the Hebrides.

C H A P.
XXV.

waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, so profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity, and improved their skill; and they acquired, by slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempestuous sea, and of steering their nocturnal course by the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland. It is *probable*, that in some remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hungry Scots; and that the strangers of the north, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is *certain*, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in military enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin: and the missionaries of the Isle of Saints, who diffused the light of christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion, that their Irish countrymen were the natural, as well as spiritual, fathers of the Scottish race. The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation, an huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared by the bards and the monks; two orders of men who equally abused the privilege of fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Irish genealogy: and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the classic elegance of Buchanan^t.

^t The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived, in the last moments of its decay, and strenuously supported, by the reverend Mr. Whitaker, Hist.

Six years after the death of Constantine, the destructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his youngest son, who reigned in the western empire. Constans visited his British dominions: but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage, from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich^u. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and silver, which had been painfully collected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or at least exemptions, from the military service, were publicly sold; the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and scanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent desertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highways were in-

C H A P.
XXV.

Their invasion of Britain.

A. D.
343—366.

of Manchester, vol. i. p. 430, 431; and Genuine History of the Britons asserted, etc. p. 154—293. Yet he acknowledges, 1. *That* the Scots of Ammianus Marcellinus (A. D. 340.) were already settled in Caledonia; and that the Roman authors do not afford any hints of their emigration from another country. 2. *That all* the accounts of such emigrations, which have been asserted, or received, by Irish bards, Scotch historians, or English antiquaries, (Buchanan, Camden, Usher, Stillingfleet, etc.) are totally fabulous. 3. *That* three of the Irish tribes, which are mentioned by Ptolemy, (A. D. 150.) were of Caledonian extraction. 4. *That* a younger branch of Caledonian princes, of the house of Fingal, acquired and possessed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining difference between Mr. Whitaker and his adversaries is minute and obscure. The *genuine history*, which he produces, of a Fergus, the cousin of Ossian, who was transplanted (A. D. 320.) from Ireland to Caledonia, is built on a conjectural supplement to the Erse poetry, and the feeble evidence of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the fourteenth century. The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question, which he so *vehemently* debates, and so *absolutely* decides.

^u *Hyeme tumentes ac sævientes undas calcastis Oceani sub remis vēstris; . . . insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit. Julius Firmicus Maternus de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 464. edit. Gronov. ad calcem Minuc. Fæl. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 336.*

CHAP.
XXV.

fested with robbers*. The oppression of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every ambitious subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the north, who detested the pride and power of the king of the world, suspended their domestic feuds; and the barbarians of the land and sea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with rapid and irresistible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain†. A philosopher may deplore the eternal discord of the human race; but he will confess, that the desire of spoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious spirit continued to instigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the same people, whose generous humanity seems to inspire the songs of Ossian, was disgraced by a savage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their southern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts‡: and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti*, the enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-

* Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. xxxix. p. 264. This curious passage has escaped the diligence of our British antiquaries.

† The Caledonians praised and coveted the gold, the steeds, the lights, etc. of the *stranger*. See Dr. Blair's *Dissertation on Ossian*, vol. ii. p. 343; and Mr. Macpherson's *Introduction*, p. 242—286.

‡ Lord Lyttelton has circumstantially related, (*History of Henry the Second*, vol. i. p. 182.) and sir David Dalrymple has slightly mentioned, (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 69.) a barbarous inroad of the Scots, at a time (A.D. 1137.) when law, religion, and society, must have softened their primitive manners.

* Attacotti *bellicosa hominum natio*. Ammian. xxvii. 8. Camden (*Introduct.* p. clii.) has restored their true name in the text of Jerome. The bands of Attacotti, which Jerome had seen in Gaul, were afterwards stationed in Italy and Illyricum: Notitia, S. viii. xxxix. xl.

witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts^b. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really existed; we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history, the opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleasing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the southern hemisphere.

Every messenger who escaped across the British channel, conveyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was soon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been surprised and cut off by the barbarians. Severus, count of the domestics, was hastily despatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and, after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was intrusted to the abilities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated with peculiar complacency by the writers of the age: but his real merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure presage of approaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navigation, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and

CHAP.
XXV.

Restoration
of Britain
by Theodo-
sius.
A. D.
367—370.

^b Cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Attacottos (or Scotos) gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus; et cum per silvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperiaant, pastorum nates et feminarum papillas solere abscindere; et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari. Such is the evidence of Jerome, (tom. ii. p. 75.) whose veracity I find no reason to question.

CHAP.
XXV.

A.D. 368.
and 369.

the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after distributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the fame of disinterested justice, by the restitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despaired of their safety, threw open their gates; and as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the laborious task of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an edict of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory warfare of the barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent spirit, and consummate art, of the Roman general, were displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities, and the security of the fortifications, were diligently restored by the paternal care of Theodosius; who, with a strong hand, confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian^c. The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps with some degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were stained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodosius dashed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the distant Orkneys were the scene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates^d. He left the province with a fair, as

^c Ammianus has concisely represented (xx. 1. xxvi. 4. xxvii. 8. xxviii. 3.) the whole series of the British war.

^d Horrescit ratibus . . . impervia Thule.

Ille nec falso nomine Pictos

Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone secutus

well as splendid, reputation; and was immediately promoted to the rank of master-general of the cavalry, by a prince who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his servants. In the important station of the Upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was chosen to suppress the revolt of Africa.

CHAP.
XXV.

III. The prince who refuses to be the judge, instructs his people to consider him as the accomplice, of his ministers. The military command of Africa had been long exercised by count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his station: but as sordid interest was the sole motive of his conduct, he acted, on most occasions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the barbarians of the desert. The three flourishing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long constituted a federal union*, were obliged, for the first time, to shut their gates against a hostile invasion; several of their most honourable citizens were surprised and massacred; the villages, and even the suburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were extirpated by the malicious savages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they soon found that their military governor was not less cruel and rapacious than the barbarians. As they were incapable of furnishing the four thousand camels, and the exor-

III. AFRICA.
Tyranny of
Romanus.
A.D. 366,
etc.

Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.

Claudian, in iii. Cons. Honorii, ver. 53, etc.

Maduerunt Saxone fuso

Orcades: incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.

Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

In iv. Cons. Hon. ver. 31, etc.

See likewise Pacatus, in Panegy. Vet. xii. 5. But it is not easy to appreciate the intrinsic value of flattery and metaphor. Compare the *British* victories of Bolanus (Statius, Silv. v. 2.) with his real character, Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 16.

* Ammianus frequently mentions their *concilium annuum, legitimum*, etc. Leptis and Sabrata are long since ruined; but the city of Oea, the native country of Apuleius, still flourishes under the provincial denomination of Tripoli. See Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiqua*, tom. ii. part ii. p. 81; d'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. iii. p. 71, 72; and Marmol, *Afrique*, tom. ii. p. 562.

bitant present which he required before he would march to the assistance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might justly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the annual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy, and betrayed by their governor. If the severity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had despatched a swift and trusty messenger to secure the venal friendship of Remigius, master of the offices. The wisdom of the imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was sent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was easily disarmed: he was tempted to reserve for himself a part of the public treasure, which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission, to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious conspiracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His enquiries were managed with so much dexterity and success, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent siege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The pre-

sident of Tripoli, who had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four distinguished citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious standard of Firmus the Moor^f.

His father Nabal was one of the richest and most powerful of the Moorish princes who acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in a domestic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal with which Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred: but, on this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly understood, that he must either present his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the sentence of the imperial consistory, to his sword, and to the people^g. He was received as the deliverer of his country; and as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The ruin of Cæsa-rea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance; the power of Firmus was established, at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king, or the purple of

^f Ammian. xviii. 6. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 25. 676.) has discussed the chronological difficulties of the history of count Romanus.

^g The chronology of Ammianus is loose and obscure: and Orosius (l. vii. c. 33. p. 551. edit. Havercamp.) seems to place the revolt of Firmus after the deaths of Valentinian and Valens. Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 691.) endeavours to pick his way. The patient and sure-footed mule of the Alps may be trusted in the most slippery paths.

CHAP. XXV. a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy

Theodosius
recovers
Africa.
A.D. 373.

Africans soon discovered, that, in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the west had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly informed, that the great Theodosius, with a small band of veterans, had landed near Igilgila, or Gigeri, on the African coast; and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures, his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of those arts which, in the same country, and in a similar situation, had formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of the Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to espouse his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodosius imitated the example, and obtained the success, of his predecessor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a suppliant, accused his own rashness, and humbly solicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace: but he diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a sincere repentance; nor could he be persuaded, by the assurances of peace, to suspend for an instant the operations of an active war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation which he had secretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient custom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an instructive spectacle of horror: the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman soldiers was mingled

with respectful admiration. Amidst the boundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of mount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus: and if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, he would have secured his person in the depth of some remote solitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant, and that every nation of Africa which presumed to support his cause, should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded three thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular barbarians; they were disconcerted by his seasonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown resources of the military art; and they felt and confessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of a civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive dominions of Igmazen, king of the Isafenses, the haughty savage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I am," replied the stern and disdainful count, "I am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber. Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured, that if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated." As soon as Igmazen was satisfied that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine

CHAP.
XXV.

had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans by strangling himself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty^b.

He is executed at Carthage.
A. D. 376.

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius; and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the enquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the imperial court. The authority of count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the rank of a subject, was ignominiously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers, who abused the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his sonsⁱ.

State of
Africa.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should have traced, with eager curiosity, the distinct and domestic footsteps of his march. But

^b Ammian. xxix. 5. The text of this long chapter (fifteen quarto pages) is broken and corrupted; and the narrative is perplexed by the want of chronological and geographical landmarks.

ⁱ Ammianus, xxviii. 4; Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 551, 552; Jerome, in Chron. p. 187.

the tedious enumeration of the unknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have since been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusts^k; and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civilized manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the utmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable desert of the south extends above a thousand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants^l: and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters^m; with horned and cloven-footed satyrsⁿ; with fabulous centaurs^o; and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes^p. Carthage would have trembled at the strange

^k Leo Africanus (in the *Viaggi di Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 78—83.) has traced a curious picture of the people and the country; which are more minutely described in the *Afrique de Marmol*, tom. iii. p. 1—54.

^l This uninhabitable zone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of ancient geography, from forty-five, to twenty-four, or even sixteen, degrees of latitude. See a learned and judicious note of Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. i. p. 426.

^m *Intra, si credere libet, vix jam homines et magis semiferi . . . Blemmyes, Satyri, etc.* Pomponius Mela, i. 4. p. 26. edit. Voss. in 8vo. Pliny philosophically explains (vi. 35.) the irregularities of nature, which he had credulously admitted, v. 8.

ⁿ If the satyr was the ourang-outang, the great human ape, (*Buffon*, *Hist. Nat.* tom. xiv. p. 43, etc.) one of that species might actually be shown alive at Alexandria in the reign of Constantine. Yet some difficulty will still remain about the conversation which St. Anthony held with one of these pious savages in the desert of Thebais. Jerome in *Vit. Paul. Eremit.* tom. i. p. 238.

^o St. Anthony likewise met one of these monsters; whose existence was seriously asserted by the emperor Claudius. The public laughed; but his prefect of Egypt had the address to send an artful preparation, the embalmed corpse of an *Hippocentaur*; which was preserved almost a century afterwards in the imperial palace. See Pliny, *Hist. Natur.* vii. 3; and the judicious observations of Freret, *Mémoires de l'Acad.* tom. vii. p. 321, etc.

^p The fable of the pygmies is as old as Homer, *Iliad* iii. 6. The pygmies of India and Æthiopia were (trispithami) twenty-seven inches high. Every spring their cavalry (mounted on rams and goats) marched, in battle array, to destroy the cranes' eggs; aliter (says Pliny) *futuris gregibus non*

CHAP.
XXV.

intelligence, that the countries on either side of the equator were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the swarms of barbarians, which issued from the north, would soon be encountered from the south, by new swarms of barbarians, equally fierce and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility^q. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains^r: and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa.

IV. THE
EAST.
The Persian
war.
A. D.
365—378.

IV. The ignominious treaty which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans: and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch^s. Sapor entered

resisti. Their houses were built of mud, feathers, and eggshells. See Pliny, vi. 35. vii. 2; and Strabo, l. ii. p. 121.

^q The third and fourth volumes of the valuable *Histoire des Voyages* describe the present state of the negroes. The nations of the sea-coast have been polished by European commerce; and those of the inland country have been improved by Moorish colonies.

^r *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, etc. tom. iv. p. 192.

^s The evidence of Ammianus is original and decisive, xxvii. 12. Moses

the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspecting Tiranus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by that of an assassin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permission of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an insult on the majesty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogerassa¹ was the only place of Armenia which presumed to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife or widow of the Armenian king, excited the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and well-concerted sally of the besieged. But the

CHAP.
XXV.

of Chorene (l. iii. c. 17. p. 249. and c. 34. p. 269.) and Procopius (de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 5. p. 17. edit. Louvre) have been consulted: but those historians who confound distinct facts, repeat the same events, and introduce strange stories, must be used with diffidence and caution.

¹ Perhaps Artagera, or Ardis; under whose walls Caius, the grandson of Augustus, was wounded. This fortress was situate above Amida, near one of the sources of the Tigris. See d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 106.

CHAP.
XXV.

forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the assault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious city with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine^u. Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt, that a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contumacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of signalizing their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the christians as the favourites, and the magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy over a superstitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome; and as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connection always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. By the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the east in a dangerous war,

^u Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 701.) proves, from chronology, that Olympias must have been the mother of Para.

ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arinthæus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty: and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotiation. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem, that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their inconclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations, who had assisted at the negotiations*. The invasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, suggested new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Persia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a Carmanian war†. The remembrance of ancient injuries was

A.D. 380.

* Ammianus (xxvii. 12. xxix. 1. xxx. 1, 2.) has described the events, without the dates, of the Persian war. Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 28. p. 261. c. 31. p. 266. c. 35. p. 271.) affords some additional facts; but it is extremely difficult to separate truth from fable.

† Artaxerxes was the successor and brother (the cousin-german) of the great Sapor; and the guardian of his son Sapor the third. Agathias, l. iv. p. 136. edit. Louvre. See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 86. 161. The authors of that unequal work have compiled the Sassanian dynasty with

CHAP.
XXV.

The treaty
of peace.
A.D. 384.

Adventures
of Para,
king of Ar-
menia.

lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants*.

In the general picture of the affairs of the east under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Persian host that besieged Artogerassa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the east. By his timid councils, Para was alternately supported and recalled, and restored and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied, that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of king. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distrust the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself; who sacrificed, to the slightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin of his father, and the enemy of his country. Under the specious pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia,

erudition and diligence; but it is a preposterous arrangement to divide the Roman and oriental accounts into two distinct histories.

* Pacatus in Panegy. Vet. xii. 22; and Orosius, l. vii. c. 34. Ictumque tum foedus est, quo universus oriens usque ad nunc (A.D. 416.) tranquillissime fruitur.

for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he passed; but when he arrived at Tarsus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance; and he gradually discovered, that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured, without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the royal fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss. The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of escape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and seriously alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before

C H A P.
XXV.

their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the subtle prudence of count Trajan; and he had the merit of insinuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the pomp and sensuality of the east: the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and gave the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia; and though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations, and the sacred rights of hospitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world^a.

V. THE
DANUBE.
Conquests
of Herman-
ric.

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans secured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric^b, king of the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this singular and almost incredible difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hero, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was dis-

^a See in Ammianus (xxx. 1.) the adventures of Para. Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridates; and tells a long, and not improbable, story of his son Gnelus; who afterwards made himself popular in Armenia, and provoked the jealousy of the reigning king: l. iii. c. 21, etc. p. 263, etc.

^b The concise account of the reign and conquests of Hermanric, seems to be one of the valuable fragments which Jornandes (c. 28.) borrowed from the Gothic histories of Ablavius, or Cassiodorius.

played with glory and success in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *judges*; and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the north; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms^c. The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the *Æstii*^d; an

^c M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 311—329.) investigates, with more industry than success, the nations subdued by the arms of Hermanric. He denies the existence of the *Vasinobronce*, on account of the immoderate length of their name. Yet the French envoy to Ratisbon, or Dresden, must have traversed the country of the *Mediomatrici*.

^d The edition of Grotius (*Jornandes*, p. 642.) exhibits the name of *Æstri*. But reason, and the Ambrosian manuscript, have restored the *Æstii*,

CHAP.
XXV.

ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the mother of the gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Æstian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats and the recent acquisitions of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanric is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themselves appeared unconscious of the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty of the north, and the peace of the empire^e.

The cause of
the Gothic
war.
A. D. 366.

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the imperial house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace: and if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly ascribed to the ungovernable spirit of the barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been raised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard^f, they were easily tempted to

whose manners and situation are expressed by the pencil of Tacitus, Germania, c. 45.

^e Ammianus (xxxi. 3.) observes, in general terms: Ermenrichi nobilissimi regis, et, per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis gentibus formidati, etc.

^f Valens docetur relationibus ducum, gentem Gothorum, ea tempestatē intactam ideoque sævissimam, conspirantem in unum, ad pervadendum parari collimitia Thraciarum. Ammian. xxvi. 6.

embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths, that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men[‡]. They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the barbarians, who displayed the insolence of masters and the licentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites retarded their progress; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the civil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The fierceness of the barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger: they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the east; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solemn alliance which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies,

[‡] M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 332.) has curiously ascertained the real number of these auxiliaries. The three thousand of Ammianus, and the ten thousand of Zosimus, were only the first divisions of the Gothic army.

CHAP.
XXV.

by assisting the kinsman and successor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent, but peremptory, refusal of these extravagant demands, was signified to the barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry; who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the emperor of the east^b. The negotiation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empireⁱ.

Hostilities,
and peace.
A. D. 367,
368, 369.

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian^k: but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery, and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arinthæus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their skill and experience; but they found it impossible to

^b The march, and subsequent negotiation, are described in the Fragments of Eunapius, Excerpt. Legat. p. 18. edit. Louvre. The provincials, who afterwards became familiar with the barbarians, found that their strength was more apparent than real. They were tall of stature; but their legs were clumsy, and their shoulders were narrow.

ⁱ Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cujus regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos ratione justa permotus. Ammianus (xxvii. 4.) then proceeds to describe, not the country of the Goths, but the peaceful and obedient province of Thrace, which was not affected by the war.

^k Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 19. The Greek sophist must have considered as one and the same war, the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Theodosius.

drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the mountains: and the devastation of the plains obliged the Romans themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of winter. The incessant rains, which swelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing summer, to his camp of Marcianapolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the necessaries of life; and the desolation of a very extensive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which he lost, in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who had promised a large reward for the head of every Goth that was brought into the imperial camp. The submission of the barbarians appeased the resentment of Valens and his council; the emperor listened with satisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which assumed, for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; and the same generals, Victor and Arinthæus, who had successfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was restricted to two cities on the Danube; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished by the suppression of their pensions and subsidies; and the exception which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the judge of the Visigoths. Athanaric, who on this occasion appears to have consulted his private interest, without expecting the orders of his sovereign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the personal interview which was proposed by the ministers of Valens. He persisted in his declaration, that it was impossible

CHAP.
XXV.

for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to set his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which separated the dominions of the two independent nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. The emperor of the east and the judge of the Visigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople; and the Goths remained in a state of tranquillity about six years, till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the north¹.

War of the
Quadi and
Sarmatians.
A. D. 374.

The emperor of the west, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred miles along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier: but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation, that Equitius, master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work, till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maxi-

¹ The Gothic war is described by Ammianus, xxvii. 5; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 211—214; and Themistius, Orat. x. p. 129—141. The orator Themistius was sent from the senate of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious emperor; and his servile eloquence compares Valens on the Danube, to Achilles in the Scamander. Jornandes forgets a war peculiar to the Visigoths, and inglorious to the Gothic name. Mascou's Hist. of the Germans, vii. 3.

min, the prefect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulously listened to the assurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audacious remonstrances of the barbarians. The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody design; and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes; or how to relate, that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their presence. The fate of Gabinius, and of Para, was the same: but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage; their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the assassin Marcellinus, that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily trans-

port; and either disregarded or demolished the empty fortifications. The princess Constantia, the daughter of the emperor Constantius, and the granddaughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innocently supported the revolt of Procopius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed train. Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messalla, governor of the provinces. As soon as he was informed that the village where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the barbarians, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the magistrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the pretorian prefect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the seasonable and effectual assistance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Disappointed in their attempts against the walls of Sirmium, the indignant barbarians turned their arms against the master-general of the frontier, to whom they unjustly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran strength of the Mælian and Pannonian bands. The obstinacy with which they disputed the vain honours of rank and precedence, was the cause of their destruction; and, while they acted with separate forces and divided councils, they were surprised and slaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horse. The success of this invasion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mæsia would infallibly have been lost, if

young Theodosius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not signalized, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illustrious father, and of his future greatness^m. C H A P.
XXV.

The mind of Valentinian, who then resided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateness of the season suspended the execution of his designs till the ensuing spring. He marched in person, with a considerable part of the forces of Gaul, from the banks of the Moselle: and to the suppliant ambassadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful answer, that, as soon as he reached the scene of action, he should examine and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auspicious government of Probus, his pretorian prefectⁿ. Valentinian, who was flattered by these demonstrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently asked the deputy of Epirus, a cynic philosopher of intrepid sincerity^o, whether he was freely sent by the wishes of the province. "With tears and groans am I sent," replied Iphicles, "by a reluctant people." The emperor paused: but the impunity of his ministers established the pernicious maxim, that they might oppress his subjects, without injuring his service. A strict enquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public discontent. The severe condemnation of the murder

^m Ammianus (xxix. 6.) and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 219, 220.) carefully mark the origin and progress of the Quadic and Sarmatian war.

ⁿ Ammianus, (xxx. 5.) who acknowledges the merit, has censured, with becoming asperity, the oppressive administration of Petronius Probus. When Jerome translated, and continued, the Chronicle of Eusebius, (A. D. 380. see Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 53. 626.) he expressed the truth, or at least the public opinion of his country, in the following words: "Probus P. P. Illyrici iniquissimis tributorum exactionibus, ante provincias quas regebat, quam a barbaris vastarentur, erasit." Chron. edit. Scaliger, p. 187; Animadvers. p. 259. The saint afterwards formed an intimate and tender friendship with the widow of Probus; and the name of count Equitius, with less propriety, but without much injustice, has been substituted in the text.

^o Julian (Orat. vi. p. 198.) represents his friend Iphicles as a man of virtue and merit, who had made himself ridiculous and unhappy by adopting the extravagant dress and manners of the cynics.

CHAP.
XXV.

of Gabinius, was the only measure which could restore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an insatiate thirst of blood and revenge. The extreme devastation and promiscuous massacre of a savage war, were justified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in those of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation^P: and such was the discipline of the Romans, and the consternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repassed the Danube without the loss of a single man. As he had resolved to complete the destruction of the Quadi by a second campaign, he fixed his winter quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Presburgh. While the operations of war were suspended by the severity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earnest persuasion of Equitius, their ambassadors were introduced into the imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with solemn oaths, that the late invasion was the crime of some irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The answer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compassion. He reviled, in the most intemperate language, their baseness, their ingratitude, their insolence.—His eyes, his voice, his colour, his gestures, expressed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulsive passion, a large blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the

^P Ammian. xxx. 5. Jerome, who exaggerates the misfortune of Valentinian, refuses him even this last consolation of revenge. *Genitali vastato solo, et inultam patriam derelinquens*: tom. i. p. 26.

arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the west expired in an agony of pain, retaining his senses till the last; and struggling, without success, to declare his intentions to the generals and ministers, who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accomplish the twelve years of his reign^q.

CHAP.
XXV.

and death
of Valenti-
nian.
A. D. 375,
Nov. 17.

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an ecclesiastical historian^r. "The empress Severa," I relate the fable, "admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor: her admiration of those naked charms, which she had often seen in the bath, was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise, that the emperor was tempted to introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire, the same domestic privilege which he had assumed for himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason, as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Justina, were *successively* contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth

The empe-
rors Gra-
tian and
Valentinian
the second.

^q See, on the death of Valentinian, Ammianus, xxx. 6; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 221; Victor, in Epitom.; Socrates, l. iv. c. 31; and Jerome, in Chron. p. 187; and tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor. There is much variety of circumstances among them; and Ammianus is so eloquent, that he writes nonsense.

^r Socrates (l. iv. c. 31.) is the only original witness of this foolish story, so repugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans, that it scarcely deserved the formal and elaborate dissertation of M. Bonamy, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 394—405. Yet I would preserve the natural circumstance of the bath; instead of following Zosimus, who represents Justina as an old woman, the widow of Magnentius.

CHAP. received from the hands of his indulgent father the
XXV. purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul^a; and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the granddaughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a series of three imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, in the palace of Treves; whilst, at the distance of many hundred miles, Valentinian suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the imperial council; and the ambitious design of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor: they suggested the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and domestic enemies, by a bold and decisive measure. The empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the son of the deceased emperor. On the sixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shown, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and solemnly invested, by military acclamation, with

^a Ammianus (xxvii. 6.) describes the form of this military election, and *august* investiture. Valentinian does not appear to have consulted, or even informed, the senate of Rome.

the titles and ensigns of supreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; declared that he should always consider the son of Justina as a brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her son Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian dissembled his resentment till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a sovereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble emperor of the east, who succeeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the west[†].

[†] Ammianus, xxx. 10; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 222, 223. Tillemont has proved, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 707—709.) that Gratian *reigned* in Italy, Africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's dominions, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MANNERS OF THE PASTORAL NATIONS.—PROGRESS OF THE HUNS FROM CHINA TO EUROPE.—FLIGHT OF THE GOTHs.—THEY PASS THE DANUBE.—GOTHIC WAR.—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VALENS.—GRATIAN INVESTS THEODOSIUS WITH THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—HIS CHARACTER AND SUCCESS.—PEACE AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GOTHs.

Earth-
quakes.
A. D. 365,
July 21.

IN the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-first day of July, the greatest part of the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive earthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters: the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sea; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spectator^a amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains, which had never, since the formation of the globe, been exposed to the sun. But the tide soon returned, with the weight of an immense and irresistible deluge, which was severely felt on the coasts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the sub-

^a Such is the bad taste of Ammianus, (xxvi. 10.) that it is not easy to distinguish his facts from his metaphors. Yet he positively affirms, that he saw the rotten carcass of a ship, *ad secundum lapidem*, at Methone, or Modon, in Peloponnesus.

jects of Rome; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia: they considered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities; and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire, and a sinking world^b. It was the fashion of the times to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity: the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sagacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake, or that a deluge was the inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. Without presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these lofty speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulsions of the elements^c. The mischievous effects of an earthquake or deluge, a hurricane or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war; as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuse their own leisure, and exercise the courage of their subjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peace-

^b The earthquakes and inundations are variously described by Libanius, *Orat. de ulciscenda Juliani nece*, c. x; in Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 158. with a learned note of Olearius; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 221; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 2; Cedrenus, p. 310, 314; and Jerome, in *Chron.* p. 186. and tom. i. p. 250. in *Vit. Hilarion*. Epidaurus must have been overwhelmed, had not the prudent citizens placed St. Hilarion, an Egyptian monk, on the beach. He made the sign of the cross: the mountain wave stopped, bowed, and returned.

^c Dicæarchus, the peripatetic, composed a formal treatise, to prove this obvious truth; which is not the most honourable to the human species. *Cicero de Officiis*, ii. 5.

CHAP.
XXVI.

The Huns
and Goths.
A.D. 376.

The pasto-
ral man-
ners of the
Scythians,
or Tartars.

ful citizen has seldom reason to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the west the Gothic nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the north; and the curious observation of the pastoral life of the Scythians^d, or Tartars^e, will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the globe, may be ascribed to the use and the abuse of reason; which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the manners and opinions of an European or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and simple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each other. The uniform stability of their manners, is the natural consequence of the

^d The original Scythians of Herodotus (l. iv. c. 47—57. 99—101.) were confined by the Danube and the Palus Mæotis, within a square of four thousand stadia, (four hundred Roman miles.) See d'Anville, *Mém. de l'Académie*, tom. xxxv. p. 573—591. Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 155. edit. Wesseling) has marked the gradual progress of the *name* and nation.

^e The *Tatars*, or *Tartars*, were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the subjects, of the Moguls. In the victorious armies of Zingis Khan and his successors, the Tartars formed the vanguard; and the name, which first reached the ears of foreigners, was applied to the whole nation. Freret, in the *Hist. de l'Académie*, tom. xviii. p. 60. In speaking of all, or any, of the northern shepherds of Europe or Asia, I indifferently use the appellations of *Scythians*, or *Tartars*.

imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe^f. On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times^g; and the banks of the Borysthenes,

^f *Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiere: ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio, aut intacti, aut invicti, mansere.* Since the time of Justin, (ii. 2.) they have multiplied this account. Voltaire, in a few words, (tom. x. p. 64. *Hist. Générale*, c. 156.) has abridged the Tartar conquests.

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar,
Has Scythia breath'd the living cloud of war.

^g The fourth book of Herodotus affords a curious, though imperfect, portrait of the Scythians. Among the moderns who describe the uniform scene, the khan of Khowaresm, Abulghazi Bahadur, expresses his native feelings; and his *Genealogical History of the Tatars* has been copiously illustrated by the French and English editors. Carpin, Ascelin, and Rubruquis, (in the *Hist. des Voyages*, tom. vii.) represent the Moguls of the fourteenth century. To these guides I have added Gerbillon, and the other jesuits, (*Description de la Chine*, par du Halde, tom. iv.) who accurately

CHAP. of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners^h.

Diet.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the north, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanityⁱ. Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty; we may observe, that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox, or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity; and the

surveyed the Chinese Tartary; and that honest and intelligent traveller Bell, of Antermony, two volumes in 4to. Glasgow, 1763.

^h The Uzbecks are the most altered from their primitive manners; 1. by the profession of the mahometan religion; and, 2. by the possession of the cities and harvests of the great Bucharia.

ⁱ Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en général cruels et féroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbare Angloise est connue, etc. Emile de Rousseau, tom. i. p. 274. Whatever we may think of the general observation, we shall not easily allow the truth of his example. The good-natured complaints of Plutarch, and the pathetic lamentations of Ovid, seduce our reason by exciting our sensibility.

large magazines which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the north cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horseflesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from

CHAP.
XXVI.

Habita-
tions.

mares' milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city; but these citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army,

of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the north, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or at least in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the south, and shelter their camp, behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture, that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property, are always included; and, in the most distant marches, he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the north have frequently determined the fate of the south; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany^k. These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more severe

^k These Tartar emigrations have been discovered by M. de Guignes, (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. i. ii.) a skilful and laborious interpreter of the Chinese language; who has thus laid open new and important scenes in the history of mankind.

than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected : this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the east, more than half a mile above the level of the sea ; and to the quantity of saltpetre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated¹. In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy sea, are strongly frozen ; the fields are covered with a bed of snow ; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

Exercises.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness ; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usefully spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chace. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders : and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance ; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm ; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their

¹ A plain in the Chinese Tartary, only eighty leagues from the great wall, was found by the missionaries to be three thousand geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Montesquieu, who has used, and abused, the relations of travellers, deduces the revolutions of Asia from this important circumstance, that heat and cold, weakness and strength, touch each other without any temperate zone : *Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. c. 3.

most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roe-buck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar, when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye and their steps to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending or accelerating their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgement of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amuse-

CHAP.
XXVI.

Govern-
ment.

ments of the chace serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire^m.

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *hords*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest and most ignorant of the Tartars, preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *mursa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge in peace, and of a leader in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *mursas* (if we may continue to use a modern~~m~~ appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant hords into national communities, under

^m Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, l. iii. c. 7.) represents the full glory and extent of the Mogul chace. The jesuits Gerbillon and Verbiest followed the emperor Kamhi when he hunted in Tartary: du Halde, Description de la Chine, tom. iv. p. 81. 290, etc. folio edit. His grandson, Kienlong, who unites the Tartar discipline with the laws and learning of China, describes (Eloge de Moukden, p. 273—285.) as a poet, the pleasures which he had often enjoyed as a sportsman.

the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority either of merit or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *khan* expresses, in the language of the north of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis^a. But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is intrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tithe, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving or the most favoured of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused

^a See the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars; and the lists of the khans, at the end of the life of Gengis, or Zingis. Under the reign of Timur, or Tamerlane, one of his subjects, a descendant of Zingis, still bore the regal appellation of khan; and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of emir, or sultan. Abulghazi, part v. c. 4; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 878.

CHAP.
XXVI.

to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia. The immediate jurisdiction of the khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The *coroultai*°, or diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the *mursas* of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia: the successful shepherds of the north have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne^p.

Situation
and extent
of Scythia,
or Tartary.

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their ancestors^q; and our knowledge

° See the diets of the ancient Huns, (de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 26.) and a curious description of those of Zingis: Vie de Gengiscan, l. i. c. 6. l. iv. c. 11. Such assemblies are frequently mentioned in the Persian history of Timur; though they served only to countenance the resolutions of their master.

^p Montesquieu labours to explain a difference, which has not existed, between the liberty of the Arabs, and the perpetual slavery of the Tartars: *Esprit des Loix*, l. xvii. c. 5. l. xviii. c. 19, etc.

^q Abulghazi Khan, in the two first parts of his Genealogical History,

of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized nations of the south, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect discovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the seat of eternal winter, and mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with simple credulity, the virtues of the pastoral life^r: they entertained a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike barbarians^s, who contemptuously baffled the immense armament of Darius, the son of Hystaspes^t. The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Scythians of Asia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran, is still the theme of history or romance: the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiar, was signalized in the defence of their country against the Afrasiabs of the north^u; and the invincible spirit of the same barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and

relates the miserable fables and traditions of the Uzbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

^r In the thirteenth book of the Iliad, Jupiter turns away his eyes from the bloody fields of Troy, to the plains of Thrace and Scythia. He would not, by changing the prospect, behold a more peaceful or innocent scene.

^s Thucydides, l. ii. c. 97.

^t See the fourth book of Herodotus. When Darius advanced into the Moldavian desert, between the Danube and the Niester, the king of the Scythians sent him a mouse, a frog, a bird, and five arrows; a tremendous allegory!

^u These wars and heroes may be found, under their respective titles, in the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot. They have been celebrated in an epic poem of sixty thousand rhymed couplets, by Ferdusi, the Homer of Persia. See the History of Nader Shah, p. 145. 165. The public must lament, that Mr. Jones has suspended the pursuit of oriental learning.

CHAP. Alexander^a. In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the east, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and inaccessible parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation^b, which ascends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries^c; and which is able to verify a series of near two thousand years, by the perpetual testimony of accurate and contemporary historians^d. The annals of China^e illustrate the state and revolutions of the pastoral tribes,

^a The Caspian sea, with its rivers, and adjacent tribes, are laboriously illustrated in the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, which compares the true geography, and the errors produced by the vanity or ignorance of the Greeks.

^b The original seat of the nation appears to have been in the north west of China, in the provinces of Chensi and Chansi. Under the two first dynasties, the principal town was still a moveable camp; the villages were thinly scattered; more land was employed in pasture than in tillage; the exercise of hunting was ordained to clear the country from wild beasts; Petcheli (where Pekin stands) was a desert; and the southern provinces were peopled with Indian savages. The dynasty of the *han*, (before Christ 206.) gave the empire its actual form and extent.

^c The era of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 2952 to 2132 years before Christ; and the year 2637 has been chosen for the lawful epoch, by the authority of the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertain duration of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them, as far as the real, or fabulous, times of Fohi, or Hoangti. Sematsien dates his authentic chronology from the year 841: the thirty-six eclipses of Confucius (thirty-one of which have been verified) were observed between the years 722 and 480 before Christ. The *historical period* of China does not ascend above the Greek olympiads.

^d After several ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the *han* (before Christ 206.) was the era of the revival of learning. The fragments of ancient literature were restored; the characters were improved and fixed; and the future preservation of books was secured, by the useful inventions of ink, paper, and the art of printing. Ninety-seven years before Christ, Sematsien published the first history of China. His labours were illustrated, and continued, by a series of one hundred and eighty historians. The substance of their works is still extant; and the most considerable of them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

^e China has been illustrated by the labours of the French; of the missionaries at Pekin, and Messrs. Freret and de Guignes, at Paris. The substance of the three preceding notes is extracted from the *Chou-king*, with the preface and notes of M. de Guignes, Paris, 1770; the *Tong-kien-Kang-mou*, translated by the P. de Mailla, under the name of *Hist. Générale de la Chine*, tom. i. p. xlix—cc; the *Mémoires sur la Chine*, Paris, 1776, etc. tom. i. p. 1—323. tom. ii. p. 5—364; the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. i. p. 1—131. tom. v. p. 345—362; and the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. x. p. 377—402. tom. xv. p. 495—564. tom. xviii. p. 178—295. tom. xxxvi. p. 164—238.

which may still be distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars; the vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors, of a great empire; whose policy has uniformly opposed the blind and impetuous valour of the barbarians of the north. From the mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand miles. The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so easily or so accurately measured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may securely advance above a thousand miles to the northward, till our progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, instead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke which issues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays the subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses, and the Samoiedes: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied by the use of rein-deer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms^c.

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China^d. Their ancient, perhaps their original seat, was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place is at present occupied by the forty-nine hords or banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families^e. But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the ap-

Original
seat of the
Huns.

^c See the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, tom. xviii. and the *Genealogical History*, vol. ii. p. 620—664.

^d M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 1—124.) has given the original history of the ancient Hiong-nou, or Huns. The Chinese geography of their country (tom. i. part ii. p. lv—lxiii.) seems to comprise a part of their conquests.

^e See in du Halde (tom. iv. p. 18—65.) a circumstantial description, with a correct map, of the country of the Mongous.

CHAP.
XXVI.Their con-
quests in
Scythia.

pellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors and the sovereigns of a formidable empire. Towards the east, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered with reluctance to the standard of the Huns. On the west, near the head of the Irtish, and in the valleys of Imaus, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou subdued, in a single expedition, twenty-six nations; the Igours^f, distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals; and, by the strange connection of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasion of Syria^g. On the side of the north, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress, or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real or imaginary conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The Northern sea was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a shepherd and an exile^h, may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious bason, above three hundred miles in length, which disdains the modest appellation of a lakeⁱ, and which actually communicates with the seas of the north, by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Jenissea. The submission of so

^f The Igours, or Vigours, were divided into three branches; hunters, shepherds, and husbandmen; and the last class was despised by the two former. See Abulghazi, part ii. c. 7.

^g Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 17—33. The comprehensive view of M. de Guignes has compared these distant events.

^h The fame of Sovou, or So-ou, his merit, and his singular adventures, are still celebrated in China. See the Eloge de Moukden, p. 20. and notes, p. 241—247; and Mémoires sur la Chine, tom. iii. p. 317—360.

ⁱ See Isbrand Ives, in Harris's collection, vol. ii. p. 931; Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 247—254; and Gmelin, in the Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 283—329. They all remark the vulgar opinion, that the *holy sea* grows angry and tempestuous, if any one presumes to call it a *lake*. This grammatical nicety often excites a dispute between the absurd superstition of the mariners, and the absurd obstinacy of travellers.

many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the south. In the third century before the christian era, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns^k; but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formidable by the matchless dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience in supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents or precipices, by the deepest rivers or by the most lofty mountains. They spread themselves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, and disconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese army. The emperor Kaoti^l, a soldier of fortune, whose personal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the barbarians; and, after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The successors of Kaoti, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace or the luxury of the palace, submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced, that while the blazing signals announced on every side the

C H A P.
XXVI.

Their wars
with the
Chinese.
Ant. Christ.
201.

^k The construction of the wall of China is mentioned by du Halde, tom. ii. p. 45. and de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 59.

^l See the life of Lieoupang, or Kaoti, in the *Hist. de la Chine*, published at Paris, 1777, etc. tom. i. p. 442—522. This voluminous work is the translation (by the P. de Mailla) of the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*, the celebrated abridgement of the great History of Semakouang (A. D. 1084.) and his continuators.

approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the helmet on their head and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labour of ineffectual marches^m. A regular payment of money and silk was stipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute, under the names of a gift or a subsidy, was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed race; and, while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their desires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns; and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine or adopted daughters of the imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish, that she were transformed

^m See a free and ample memorial, presented by a mandarin to the emperor Venti (before Christ 180—157,) in du Halde. tom. ii. p. 412—426; from a collection of state papers, marked with the red pencil by Kamhi himself, p. 384—612. Another memorial from the minister of war (Kang-Mou, tom. ii. p. 555.) supplies some curious circumstances of the manners of the Huns.

ⁿ A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute: *Hist. de la Conquête de la Chine, par les Tartares Mantcheoux*, tom. i. p. 186, 187. with the note of the editor.

into a bird, to fly back to her dear country, the object of her tender and perpetual regret^o.

CHAP.
XXVI.

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the north: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to those of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the most sanguine hopes of success. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti^p, the fifth emperor of the powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the barbarians of the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid operations of a defensive war, his lieutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundless deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines, and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships: and of one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched against the barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were compensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese generals improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was surprised in the midst of sleep and intemperance: and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the field of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach

Decline and
fall of the
Huns.

Ant. Christ.
141—87.

^o De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 62.

^p See the reign of the emperor Vouti, in the *Kang-Mou*, tom. iii. p. 1—98. His various and inconsistent character seems to be impartially drawn.

CHAP.
XXVI.

Ant. Christ.
70.

the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the promises, of Vouti and his successors, the most considerable tribes, both of the east and of the west, disclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged themselves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native strength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China^q. The desertion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of an independent sovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high-spirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the mandarins, and the emperor himself, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity^r. A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the barbarian king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consisted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegiance, and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil dissension, into two

Ant. Christ.
51.

^q This expression is used in the memorial to the emperor Venti: du Halde, tom. ii. p. 417. Without adopting the exaggerations of Marco Polo and Isaac Vossius, we may rationally allow for Pekin two millions of inhabitants. The cities of the south, which contain the manufactures of China, are still more populous.

^r See the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 150. and the subsequent events under the proper years. This memorable festival is celebrated in the *Eloge de Moukden*, and explained in a note by the P. Gaubil, p. 89, 90.

hostile and separate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the south with eight hords, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire, was secured by weakness and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the north continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription^a of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi^t, a tribe of oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the christian era^u.

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation^x. Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Fifty-eight hords, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the south; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of

CHAP.
XXVI.

A.D. 48.

A.D. 93.

Their emi-
grations.
A.D. 100,
etc.

^a This inscription was composed on the spot by Pankou, president of the tribunal of history: Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 392. Similar monuments have been discovered in many parts of Tartary. *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 122.

^t M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 189.) has inserted a short account of the Sienpi.

^u The era of the Huns is placed by the Chinese 1210 years before Christ. But the series of their kings does not commence till the year 230. *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 21. 123.

^x The various accidents of the downfall and flight of the Huns, are related in the Kang-Mou, tom. iii. p. 88. 91. 95. 139, etc. The small numbers of each hord may be ascribed to their losses and divisions.

CHAP.
XXVI.

The white
Huns of
Sogdiana.

Ortous. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse fortune, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subdue some remote country, which was still inaccessible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China[†]. The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but *we* are able to distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The first of these colonies established their dominion in the fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate, and their long residence in a flourishing province[‡], which might still retain a faint impression of the arts of Greece[‡]. The *white* Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, soon abandoned the pastoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has since enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exercised a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism, was the

[†] M. de Guignes has skilfully traced the footsteps of the Huns through the vast deserts of Tartary: tom. iii. p. 123. 277, etc. 325, etc.

[‡] Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, reigned in Sogdiana when it was invaded (A. D. 1218.) by Zingis and his Moguls. The oriental historians (see d'Herbelot, *Petit de la Croix*, etc.) celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the fruitful country which he desolated. In the next century, the same provinces of Chorasmia and Mawaralnahr were described by Abulfeda: Hudson, *Geograph. Minor*, tom. iii. Their actual misery may be seen in the *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, p. 423—469.

[‡] Justin (xli. 6.) has left a short abridgement of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should ascribe the new and extraordinary trade, which transported the merchandises of India into Europe, by the Oxus, the Caspian, the Cyrus, the Phasis, and the Euxine. The other ways, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Seleucides and the Ptolemies. See *l'Esprit des Loix*, l. xxi.

custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave^b. The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Persia, involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroses, or Firuz, displayed the moderation as well as the valour of the barbarians. The *second* division of their countrymen, the Huns who gradually advanced towards the north west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled them to exchange the silks of China for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native fierceness of the Huns was exasperated by their intercourse with the savage tribes, who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beasts of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous; and while each hord was governed by its peculiar mursa, their tumultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the eastern banks of the Volga, was attested by the name of Great Hungary^c. In the winter they descended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks^d, who remained about a century under the protection of Russia; and who have since

CHAP.
XXVI.

The Huns
of the
Volga.

^b Procopius de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 3. p. 9.

^c In the thirteenth century, the monk Rubruquis (who traversed the immense plain of Kipzak in his journey to the court of the great khan) observed the remarkable name of *Hungary*, with the traces of a common language and origin. Hist. des Voyages, tom. vii. p. 269.

^d Bell, (vol. i. p. 29—34.) and the editors of the Genealogical History, (p. 539.) have described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present century.

CHAP.
XXVI.

Their con-
quest of the
Alani.

returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the Chinese empire. The march and the return of those wandering Tartars, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents, or families, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns*.

It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time which elapsed after the Huns of the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chinese, and before they showed themselves to those of the Romans. There is some reason, however, to apprehend, that the same force which had driven them from their native seats, still continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thousand miles from east to west^f, must have gradually oppressed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood: and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increase the strength, or to contract the territories, of the Huns. The harsh and obscure appellations of those tribes would offend the ear, without informing the understanding, of the reader; but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion, *that* the Huns of the north derived a considerable reinforcement from the ruin of the dynasty of the south, which, in the course of the third century, submitted to the dominion of China; *that* the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; *and* that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were

* This great transmigration of three hundred thousand Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the year 1771. The original narrative of Kien-long, the reigning emperor of China, which was intended for the inscription of a column, has been translated by the missionaries of Pekin. *Mémoire sur la Chine*, tom. i. p. 401—418. The emperor affects the smooth and specious language of the son of heaven, and the father of his people.

^f The Kang-Mou (tom. iii. p. 447.) ascribes to their conquests a space of fourteen thousand *lis*. According to the present standard, two hundred *lis* (or more accurately a hundred and ninety-three) are equal to one degree of latitude; and one English mile consequently exceeds three miles of China. But there are strong reasons to believe that the ancient *li* scarcely equalled one half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. d'Anville, a geographer who is not a stranger in any age or climate of the globe: *Mémoires de l'Acad.* tom. ii. p. 125—502; *Mesures Itinéraires*, p. 154—167.

easily reunited by the common hardships of their adverse fortune^g. The Huns, with their flocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependents and allies, were transported to the west of the Volga: and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the north, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh; and their southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom found in the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable barbarians in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and in the love of arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked scimeter, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pusillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering disease^h. On the banks of the Tanais, the military power

^g See the *Histoire des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 125—144. The subsequent history (p. 145—277.) of three or four Hunnic dynasties evidently proves, that their martial spirit was not impaired by a long residence in China.

^h *Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant et bella. Judicatur ibi beatus qui in prælio profuderit animam: senescentes etiam et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ig-*

CHAP.
XXVI.

of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in the bloody contest: the king of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of flight or submission¹. A colony of exiles found a secure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian; where they still preserve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intrepid courage, towards the shores of the Baltic; associated themselves with the northern tribes of Germany; and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union; and the Huns, who esteemed the valour of their less fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

Their victories over the Goths. A. D. 375.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an host of unknown enemies², on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified by the astonished Goths; who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames, and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors, they added the surprise and

navos conviciis atrocibus insectantur. We must think highly of the conquerors of such men.

¹ On the subject of the Alani, see Ammianus, *xxi.* 2; Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 24; M. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 279; and the Genealogical History of the Tartars, tom. ii. p. 617.

² As we are possessed of the authentic history of the Huns, it would be impertinent to repeat, or to refute, the fables, which misrepresent their origin and progress, their passage of the mud or water of the *Mæotis*, in pursuit of an ox or stag, *les Indes qu'ils avoient découvertes*, etc. Zosimus, l. iv p. 224; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37; Procopius, *Hist. Miscell.* c. 5; Jornandes, c. 24; *Grandeur et Décadence*, etc. des Romains, c. 17.

abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns. These savages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had some resemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs; and to the misshapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aspect of age¹. A fabulous origin was assigned, worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who for their foul and deadly practices had been driven from society, had copulated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Huns were the offspring of this execrable conjunction^m. The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths: but while it gratified their hatred, it increased their fear; since the posterity of demons and witches might be supposed to inherit some share of the preternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of their parents. Against these enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second, than to repel, the invasion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolaniⁿ had formerly deserted the standard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had con-

¹ *Prodigosæ formæ, et pandi; ut bipedes existimes bestias; vel quales in commarginandis pontibus, effigati stipites dolantur incompti. Ammian. xxxi. l. 1.* Jornandes (c. 24.) draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face. *Species pavenda nigredine... quædam deformis offa, non facies; habensque magis puncta quam lumina.* See Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. iii. p. 380.

^m This execrable origin, which Jornandes (c. 24.) describes with the rancour of a Goth, might be originally derived from a more pleasing fable of the Greeks. Herodot. l. iv. c. 9, etc.

ⁿ The Roxolani may be the fathers of the 'Pōc, the *Russians*, (d'Anville, *Empire de Russie*, p. 1—10.) whose residence (A. D. 862.) about Novogrod Veliki, cannot be very remote from that which the geographer of Ravenna (i. 12. iv. 4. 46. v. 28. 30.) assigns to the Roxolani, A. D. 886.

CHAP. demned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn
XXVI. asunder by wild horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman seized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord. His death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths submitted to their fate; and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the subjects of the haughty Attila. But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was saved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax, two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Niester; a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Niester, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious barbarians, whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage, and the incumbrance of captives; but their military skill deceived, and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Niester, he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judi-

cious plan of defensive war; and the strong lines which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube, would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia, from the destructive inroads of the Huns°. But the hopes and measures of the judge of the Visigoths were soon disappointed, by the trembling impatience of his dismayed countrymen; who were persuaded by their fears, that the interposition of the Danube was the only barrier that could save them from the rapid pursuit and invincible valour of the barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus^p, the body of the nation hastily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the east. Athanaric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired with a band of faithful followers into the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almost concealed, by the impenetrable forests of Transylvania^q.

C H A P.
XXVI.

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war, with some appearance of glory and success, he made a progress through his dominions of Asia, and at length fixed his residence in the capital of Syria. The five years^r which he spent at Antioch were employed to watch, from a secure distance, the hostile designs of the Persian monarch; to check the depredations of the Saracens and Isaurians^s; to enforce, by arguments more prevalent than those of reason and eloquence,

The Goths
implore the
protection
of Valens.
A. D. 376.

° The text of Ammianus seems to be imperfect or corrupt; but the nature of the ground explains, and almost defines, the Gothic rampart. *Mémoires de l'Académie*, etc. tom. xxviii. p. 444—462.

^p M. de Buat (*Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe*, tom. vi. p. 407.) has conceived a strange idea, that Alavivus was the same person as Ulphilas the Gothic bishop: and that Ulphilas, the grandson of a Cappadocian captive, became a temporal prince of the Goths.

^q Ammianus (xxx. 3.) and Jornandes (*de Rebus Geticis*, c. 24.) describe the subversion of the Gothic empire by the Huns.

^r The chronology of Ammianus is obscure and imperfect. Tillemont has laboured to clear and settle the annals of Valens.

^s Zosimus, l. iv. p. 223; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 38. The Isaurians each winter infested the roads of Asia Minor, as far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Basil, *Epist. ccl. apud Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 106.

CHAP.
XXVI.

the belief of the Arian theology; and to satisfy his anxious suspicions by the promiscuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was more seriously engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the north was agitated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged, that their only hope of safety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and most solemnly protested, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude to obey the laws and to guard the limits of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the east was no longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year: and as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the favourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who consider the use of dilatory and ambiguous measures, as the most admirable efforts of consummate prudence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most ex-

A. D. 375,
Nov. 17.

perienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting or rejecting an innumerable multitude of barbarians, who are driven by despair and hunger to solicit a settlement on the territories of a civilized nation. When that important proposition, so essentially connected with the public safety, was referred to the ministers of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they soon acquiesced in the flattering sentiment which seemed the most favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their sovereign. The slaves who were decorated with the titles of prefects and generals, dissembled or disregarded the terrors of this national emigration; so extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the most distant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of strangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treasures, the immense sums of gold supplied by the provincials to compensate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their service was accepted by the imperial court: and orders were immediately despatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian diocese, to make the necessary preparations for the passage and subsistence of a great people, till a proper and sufficient territory could be allotted for their future residence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harsh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might justify on the side of the Romans, but which distress alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they passed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms: and it was insisted, that their children should be taken from them, and dispersed through the provinces of Asia; where they might be civilized by the arts of education, and serve as hostages to secure the fidelity of their parents.

C H A P.
XXVI.

They are
transported
over the
Danube
into the
Roman em-
pire.

During this suspense of a doubtful and distant negotiation, the impatient Goths made some rash attempts to pass the Danube, without the permission of the government whose protection they had implored. Their motions were strictly observed by the vigilance of the troops which were stationed along the river; and their foremost detachments were defeated with considerable slaughter: yet such were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who had served their country in the execution of their duty, were punished by the loss of their employments, and narrowly escaped the loss of their heads. The imperial mandate was at length received for transporting over the Danube the whole body of the Gothic nation¹; but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts is above a mile broad², had been swelled by incessant rains; and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away and drowned by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of vessels, of boats, and of canoes was provided: many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable toil; and the most strenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a single barbarian, of those who were reserved to subvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the opposite shore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task³: and the principal historian of the age most seri-

¹ The passage of the Danube is exposed by Ammianus, xxxi. 3, 4; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 223, 224; Eunapius in Excerpt. Legat. p. 19, 20; and Jordanes, c. 25, 26. Ammianus declares, (c. 5.) that he means only, *ipsas rerum digerere summitates*. But he often takes a false measure of their importance; and his superfluous prolixity is disagreeably balanced by his unseasonable brevity.

² Chishull, a curious traveller, has remarked the breadth of the Danube, which he passed to the south of Bucharest, near the conflux of the Argish: p. 77. He admires the beauty and spontaneous plenty of Mæsia, or Bulgaria.

³ *Quem si scire velit, Libyci velit æquoris idem*

Scire quam multæ Zephyro trudentur arenæ.

Ammianus has inserted in his prose these lines of Virgil, (Georgic. l. ii.)

ously affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thousand men; and if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which composed this formidable emigration, must have amounted to near a million of persons, of both sexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education; and as the numerous train of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gay and splendid apparel, their robust and martial figure, excited the surprise and envy of the provincials. But the stipulation the most offensive to the Goths, and the most important to the Romans, was shamefully eluded. The barbarians, who considered their arms as the ensigns of honour and the pledges of safety, were disposed to offer a price, which the lust or avarice of the imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. To preserve their arms, the haughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters: the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, secured the connivance of the inspectors; who sometimes cast an eye of covetousness on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies⁷, or who sacrificed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when

originally designed by the poet to express the impossibility of numbering the different sorts of vines. See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiv.

⁷ Eunapius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and luxury. Yet it must be presumed, that they were the manufactures of the provinces; which the barbarians had acquired as the spoils of war, or as the gifts or merchandise of peace.

C H A P.
XXVI.

their strength was collected on the other side of the river, the immense camp which was spread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæsia, assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon afterwards on the northern banks of the Danube; and immediately despatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegiance and gratitude, the same favour which had been granted to the suppliant Visigoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the fears of the imperial council.

Their dis-
tress and
discontent.

An undisciplined and unsettled nation of barbarians required the firmest temper, and the most dexterous management. The daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects could be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The insolence or the indignation of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects either of fear or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the fortune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. - At this important crisis, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest hope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of public advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of discerning the pernicious effects of their rash and criminal administration. Instead of obeying the orders of their sovereign, and satisfying with decent liberality the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppressive tax on the wants of the hungry barbarians. The vilest food was sold at an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and substantial provisions, the markets were filled with the flesh of dogs, and of un-

clean animals, who had died of disease. To obtain the valuable acquisition of a pound of bread, the Goths resigned the possession of an expensive though serviceable slave; and a small quantity of meat was greedily purchased with ten pounds of a precious, but useless, metal². When their property was exhausted, they continued this necessary traffic by the sale of their sons and daughters; and, notwithstanding the love of freedom which animated every Gothic breast, they submitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a servile condition, than to perish in a state of wretched and helpless independence. The most lively resentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who sternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by subsequent injuries: a spirit of discontent insensibly arose in the camp of the barbarians, who pleaded, without success, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; and loudly complained of the inhospitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midst of which they suffered the intolerable hardships of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; since the rapaciousness of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the possession and the use of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to disguise their sentiments, announced the first symptoms of resistance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Those crafty ministers, who substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary counsels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous station on the frontiers of the empire; and

² *Decem libras*; the word *silver* must be understood. Jornandes betrays the passions and prejudices of a Goth. The servile Greeks, Eunapius and Zosimus, disguise the Roman oppression, and execrate the perfidy of the barbarians. Ammianus, a patriot historian, slightly and reluctantly touches on the odious subject. Jerome, who wrote almost on the spot, is fair though concise. *Per avaritiam Maximi ducis, ad rebellionem fame coacti sunt*: in Chron.

C H A P.
XXVI.

Revolt of
the Goths in
Mæsia, and
their first
victories.

to disperse them, in separate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect or confidence of the barbarians, they diligently collected from every side a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people who had not yet renounced the title or the duties of Roman subjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was solely directed to the discontented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and the fortifications which constituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal oversight was observed, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiously watched the favourable moment of escaping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogoths transported, without opposition, their king and their army; and boldly fixed an hostile and independent camp on the territories of the empire^a.

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war; and the authority which they derived from their birth, was ratified by the free consent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as soon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abilities of Fritigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercise for the public welfare. He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injuries and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind: but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the union of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostrogoths; and while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianapolis, the

^a Ammianus, xxxi. 4, 5.

capital of the Lower Mæsia, about seventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot, the flames of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a splendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded; and the barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision; and as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a sword was hastily drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel, became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a secret messenger, that many of his soldiers were slain, and despoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command, that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous shouts and dying groans apprised Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute," said the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have arisen between the two nations; but it may be productive of the most dangerous consequences, unless the tumult is immediately pacified by the assurance of our safety, and the authority of our presence." At these words, Fritigern and his companions drew their swords, opened their passage through the unresisting crowd which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates of Marcianapolis, and mount-

CHAP.
XXVI.

ing their horses, hastily vanished from the eyes of the astonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were saluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp: war was instantly resolved, and the resolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were displayed according to the custom of their ancestors; and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the barbarian trumpet^b. The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still presumed to despise, his formidable enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of such a military force as could be collected on this sudden emergency. The barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianapolis; and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was so ably directed by the genius of Fritigern, that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle; and their useless courage served only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That successful day put an end to the distress of the barbarians, and the security of the Romans: from that day, the Goths, renouncing the precarious condition of strangers and exiles, assumed the character of citizens and masters, claimed an absolute dominion over the possessors of land, and held, in their own right, the northern provinces of the empire which

^b *Vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis.* Ammian. xxxi. 5. These are the *rauca cornua* of Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 57.) the large horns of the *uri*, or wild bull; such as have been more recently used by the Swiss cantons of Uri and Unterwald. Simler de Republica Helvet. l. ii. p. 201. edit. Fuselin. Tigur. 1734. Their military horn is finely, though perhaps casually, introduced in an original narrative of the battle of Nancy, A. D. 1477. "Attendant le combat le dit cor fut corné par trois fois, tant que le vent du souffleur pouvoit durer: ce qui esbahit fort monsieur de Bourgoigne; car déjà à Morat l'avoit ouy." See the Pièces Justificatives in the 4to. edition of Philippe de Comines, tom. iii. p. 493.

are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic historian^c, who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the barbarians was exercised only for the purposes of rapine and destruction. As they had been deprived, by the ministers of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature, and the fair intercourse of social life, they retaliated the injustice on the subjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful husbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the massacre or captivity of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was soon diffused over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and dismay, their own hasty imprudence contributed to increase the forces of Fritigern, and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and service of the empire^d. They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople: but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the success, of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadrianople, incensed by some disorders which had been committed at his country house, refused this indulgence; and arming against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hostile

CHAP.
XXVI.

They penetrate into Thrace.

^c Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 26. p. 648. edit. Grot. These *splendidi panni* (they are comparatively such) are undoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories of Priscus, Ablavius, or Cassiodorus.

^d Cum populis suis longe ante suscepti. We are ignorant of the precise date and circumstances of their transmigration.

CHAP.
XXVI.

threats, their instant departure. The barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours and missile weapons of the populace: but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and despoiled them of the splendid armour*, which they were unworthy to bear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalized their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raised the siege, declared that "he was at peace with stone walls," and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace†, for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master‡: and these new associates conducted the barbarians, through the secret paths, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible: re-

* An imperial manufacture of shields, etc. was established at Hadrianople; and the populace were headed by the *fabricenses*, or workmen. Vales. ad Ammian. xxxi. 6.

† Pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans. Ammian. xxxi. 7.

‡ These mines were in the country of the Bessi, in the ridge of mountains, the Rhodope, that runs between Philippi and Philippopolis; two Macedonian cities, which derived their name and origin from the father of Alexander. From the mines of Thrace he annually received the value, not the weight, of a thousand talents, (two hundred thousand pounds;) a revenue which paid the phalanx, and corrupted the orators of Greece. See Diodor. Siculus, tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 88. edit. Wesseling; Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. iii. p. 496; Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 676. 857; d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 336.

§ As those unhappy workmen often ran away, Valens had enacted severe laws to drag them from their hiding-places. Cod. Theodosian. l. x. tit. xix. leg. 5. 7.

sistance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native fierceness by the desire of revenge. They listened with eager attention to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans¹.

C H A P.
XXVI.

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confession of past errors, and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the east: but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantinople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the west. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable

Operations
of the Go-
thic war.
A.D. 377.

¹ See Ammianus, xxxi. 5, 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space, by an unseasonable recapitulation of the ancient inroads of the barbarians.

CHAP.
XXVI.

opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the west, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride rather than by reason, it was resolved to seek and to encounter the barbarians; who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadows, near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube^k. Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortification of waggons^l; and the barbarians, secure within the vast circle of the enclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the spoils of the province. In the midst of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived that the numbers of the enemy were continually increasing: and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear, as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp; he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons^m, they obeyed with incredible speed the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the ap-

^k The Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 226, 227. edit. Wesseling) marks the situation of this place about sixty miles north of Tomi, Ovid's exile: and the name of *Salices* (the willows) expresses the nature of the soil.

^l This circle of waggons, the *carrago*, was the usual fortification of the barbarians. Vegetius de Re Militari, l. iii. c. 10; Valesius ad Ammian. xxxi. 7. The practice and the name were preserved by their descendants, as late as the fifteenth century. The *Churroy*, which surrounded the *Ost*, is a word familiar to the readers of Froissard or Comines.

^m *Statim ut accensi malleoli*. I have used the literal sense of real torches or beacons: but I almost suspect, that it is only one of those turgid metaphors, those false ornaments, that perpetually disfigure the style of Ammianus.

proaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a solemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude songs which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and dissonant outcries, and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained on either side by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in arms; but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewed with their mangled carcases. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects, of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance, that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites as the circumstances of time and place would admit, were piously discharged to some officers of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their flesh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feasts; and several years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, presented to the eyes of Ammianus a dreadful monument of the battle of Salicesⁿ.

ⁿ Indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi. Ammian. xxxi. 7. The historian might have viewed these plains, either as a soldier or as a travel-

CHAP.
XXVI.

Union of
the Goths
with the
Huns,
Alani, etc.

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the imperial generals, whose army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a contest, embraced the more rational plan of destroying the barbarians by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus, till their strength and spirit should be insensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success: the barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the harvests of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the master-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new swarms of barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate the example, of Fritigern. The just apprehension, that he himself might be surrounded and overwhelmed by the arms of hostile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp: and the indignant Visigoths, breaking from their confinement, satiated their hunger and revenge, by the repeated devastation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the straits of the Hellespont*. The sagacious Fritigern had successfully appealed to the passions, as well as to the interest, of his barbarian allies; and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, seconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambassadors. He cemented a strict and useful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alátheus and Saphrax as the guard-

ler: but his modesty has suppressed the adventures of his own life subsequent to the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian. We are ignorant of the time when he quitted the service, and retired to Rome, where he appears to have composed his History of his Own Times.

* Ammian. xxxi. 8.

ians of their infant king: the long animosity of rival tribes was suspended by the sense of their common interest; the independent part of the nation was associated under one standard; and the chiefs of the Ostrogoths appear to have yielded to the superior genius of the general of the Visigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whose military renown was disgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domestic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendship, and brutal love, to some warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be released from this unnatural connection, till he had approved his manhood, by slaying, in single combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the forest^p. But the most powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of those enemies who had expelled them from their native seats. The loose subordination and extensive possessions of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conquests, and distracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the hords were allured by the liberal promises of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia added weight and energy to the steady and strenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the successor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increased the general confusion; and a seasonable irruption of the Alemanni into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and diverted the forces, of the emperor of the west^q.

One of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the barbarians into the army and the palace, was sensibly felt in their correspondence with Alemanni.

^p Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem, et obscenæ vitæ flagitiis ita accipimus mersam; ut apud eos nefandi concubitus fœdere copulentur mores puberes, ætatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro, si qui jam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti. Ammian. xxxi. 9. Among the Greeks likewise, more especially among the Cretans, the holy bands of friendship were confirmed and sullied by unnatural love.

^q Ammian. xxxi. 8, 9. Jerome (tom. i. p. 26.) enumerates the nations, and marks a calamitous period of twenty years. This epistle to Heliodorus was composed in the year 397. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 645.

CHAP.
XXVI.

A.D. 378,
May.

their hostile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciously, revealed the weakness of the Roman empire. A soldier of the life-guards of Gratian was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienses, who dwelt beyond the lake of Constance. Some domestic business obliged him to request a leave of absence. In a short visit to his family and friends, he was exposed to their curious enquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious soldier tempted him to display his intimate acquaintance with the secrets of the state, and the designs of his master. The intelligence, that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul and of the west to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the restless spirit of the Alemanni, the moment and the mode of a successful invasion. The enterprise of some light detachments, who, in the month of February, passed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldest hopes of rapine, perhaps of conquest, outweighed the considerations of timid prudence or national faith. Every forest and every village poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which on their approach was estimated at forty thousand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of seventy thousand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the imperial court. The legions which had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled or detained for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he respected the long experience and sober wisdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire and to follow the martial ardour of his colleague; who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domestics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Priarius, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the same headstrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the spirit of their leaders, they met, they saw, they

encountered each other, near the town of *Argentaria*, or *Colmar*^r, in the plains of *Alsace*. The glory of the day was justly ascribed to the missile weapons, and well-practised evolutions, of the Roman soldiers: the *Alemanni*, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury; five thousand only of the barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, saved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice or policy of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of *Gaul*, and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor *Gratian* appeared to proceed without delay on his eastern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the *Alemanni*, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the *Rhine*, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies. Their submission was accepted as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the *Alemanni* could neither be subdued by arms nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity; but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications, of the barbarians, the valour of *Gratian* was distinguished in the

^r The field of battle, *Argentaria*, or *Argentovaria*, is accurately fixed by *M. d'Anville* (*Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, p. 96—99.) at twenty-three Gallic leagues, or thirty-four and a half Roman miles, to the south of *Strasburgh*. From its ruins the adjacent town of *Colmar* has arisen.

CHAP.
XXVI.

foremost ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of nineteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triumphs^a.

Valens
marches
against the
Goths.
A. D. 378,
May 30—
June 11.

While Gratian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his subjects, the emperor Valens, who at length had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Constantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the hippodrome, to march against the barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions: and the citizens, who are always brave at a distance from any real danger, declared with confidence, that, if they were supplied with arms, *they* alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting foe^b. The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman empire: they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation or in his mind, any motives to support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon persuaded, by the successful achievements of his lieutenants, to despise the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid; the king of those licentious barbarians was slain in battle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were assigned for their settlement, in the

^a The full and impartial narrative of Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) may derive some additional light from the Epitome of Victor, the Chronicle of Jerome, and the History of Orosius, l. vii. c. 33. p. 552. edit. Havercamp.

^b *Moratus paucissimos dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus.* Ammian. xxxi. 11. Socrates (l. iv. c. 38.) supplies the dates and some circumstances.

vacant territories of Modena and Parma". The exploits of Sebastian*, who was recently engaged in the service of Valens, and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself, and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the Goths was surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil which was recovered from their hands filled the city of Hadrianople and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives which the general transmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the imperial court by the appearance of superior merit; and though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to seize the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill, that he prevented the activity of the barbarians, who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themselves, or their convoys of provisions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart; and a most

* *Vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque, et Parmam, Italica opida, rura culturos exterminavit.* Ammianus, xxxi. 9. Those cities and districts, about ten years after the colony of the Taifalæ, appear in a very desolate state. See Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane*, tom. i. Dissert. xxi. p. 354.

* Ammian. xxxi. 11; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 228—230. The latter expatiates on the desultory exploits of Sebastian, and despatches in a few lines the important battle of Hadrianople. According to the ecclesiastical critics, who hate Sebastian, the praise of Zosimus is disgrace: Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 121. His prejudice and ignorance undoubtedly render him a very questionable judge of merit.

important council was summoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The party of reason and of delay was strenuously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian, with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution, and every measure that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the west. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war, were perfectly understood by the general of the barbarians; and a christian ecclesiastic was despatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate and to perplex the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador; who protested, in the name of Fritigern, that he was still disposed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire if he could secure for his wandering countrymen a tranquil settlement on the waste lands of Thrace, and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidential friendship, that the exasperated barbarians were averse to these reasonable conditions; and that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence and terrors of an imperial army. About the same time count Richomer returned from the west, to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemanni; to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every dangerous and decisive measure might be suspended, till the junction of the two emperors should ensure the success of the Gothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the east was actuated only by the fatal il-

lusions of pride and jealousy. He disdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he secretly compared the ignominious, at least the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardless youth; and Valens rushed into the field to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of the triumphs of the day.

On the ninth of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most inauspicious of the Roman calendar^y, the emperor Valens, leaving under a strong guard his baggage and military treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city^z. By some mistake of the orders, or some ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion and irregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He despatched messengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and wasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was applauded: and the count of the domestics, adorned with the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in the space between the

C H A P.
XXVI.

Battle of
Hadria-
nople.
A. D. 378,
August 9.

^y Ammianus (xxxi. 12, 13.) almost alone describes the councils and actions which were terminated by the fatal battle of Hadrianople. We might censure the vices of his style, the disorder and perplexity of his narrative: but we must now take leave of this impartial historian; and reproach is silenced by our regret for such an irreparable loss.

^z The difference of the eight miles of Ammianus, and the twelve of Idatius, can only embarrass those critics (Valesius ad loc.) who suppose a great army to be a mathematical point, without space or dimensions.

CHAP.
XXVI.

The defeat
of the Ro-
mans.

Death of
the emperor
Valens.

two armies, when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targetteers; and as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous but irresistible charge of the barbarian host. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skilful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed, on an open plain, by superior numbers of horse: but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use with effect their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, deserted by his guards, and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was lost, unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they at-

tempted to dress his wound, and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry faggots, and consumed the cottage, with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; and a youth who dropt from the window alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rashness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled in the actual loss, and far surpassed in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the fields of Cannæ^a. Two masters-general of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes, were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed: and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance, as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage and regular discipline^b.

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent in the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetor-

Funeral
oration of
Valens and
his army.

^a Nec ulla, annalibus, præter Cannensem pugnam, ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta. Ammian. xxxi. 13. According to the grave Polybius, no more than three hundred and seventy horse, and three thousand foot, escaped from the field of Cannæ: ten thousand were made prisoners; and the number of the slain amounted to five thousand six hundred and thirty horse, and seventy thousand foot. Polyb. l. iii. p. 371. edit. Casaubon, in 8vo. Livy (xxii. 49.) is somewhat less bloody: he slaughters only two thousand seven hundred horse, and forty thousand foot. The Roman army was supposed to consist of eighty-seven thousand two hundred effective men: xxii. 36.

^b We have gained some faint light from Jerome, tom. i. p. 26. and in Chron. p. 188; Victor, in Epitome; Orosius, l. vii. c. 83. p. 664; Jordanes, c. 27; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 230; Socrates, l. iv. c. 38; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 40; Idatius, in Chron. But their united evidence, if weighed against Ammianus alone, is light and unsubstantial.

CHAP.
XXVI.

rician of the age composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army, and of an unpopular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a stranger. "There are not wanting," says the candid Libanius, "those who arraign the prudence of the emperor, or who impute the public misfortune to the want of courage and discipline in the troops. For my own part, I reverence the memory of their former exploits: I reverence the glorious death which they bravely received, standing, and fighting in their ranks: I reverence the field of battle, stained with *their* blood, and the blood of the barbarians. Those honourable marks have been already washed away by the rains; but the lofty monuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurions, and of valiant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The king himself fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His attendants presented him with the fleetest horses of the imperial stable, that would soon have carried him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve his important life for the future service of the republic. He still declared, that he was unworthy to survive so many of the bravest and most faithful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the slain. Let none, therefore, presume to ascribe the victory of the barbarians to the fear, the weakness, or the imprudence of the Roman troops. The chiefs and the soldiers were animated by the virtue of their ancestors, whom they equalled in discipline and the arts of war. Their generous emulation was supported by the love of glory, which prompted them to contend at the same time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death, as their refuge against flight and infamy. The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumstances of the battle; but the fairest commendation

is due to the eloquence, and still more to the generosity, of the sophist of Antioch^c.

C H A P.
XXVI.

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was disappointed by the mortifying discovery, that the richest part of the imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army, with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair, and the only hope of their safety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and astonished the ignorant barbarians by the noise and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the discharge. The soldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger and in the defence: the furious assault of the Goths was repulsed; their secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced by experience, that it would be far more adviseable to observe the treaty which their sagacious leader had tacitly stipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred deserters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raised the siege of Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude: the multitude suddenly disappeared; the secret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footsteps of the trembling fugitives, who sought a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the household and the treasury, cautiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still ignorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadri-

The Goths
besiege Ha-
drianople.

^c Libanius de ulciscend. Julian. nece, c. 3. in Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. vii. p. 146—148.

anople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The barbarians were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the east, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and land. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens^d, who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses: their riders were skilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the northern barbarians were astonished and dismayed by the inhuman ferocity of the barbarians of the south. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy^e. The army of the Goths, laden with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs and the adjacent territory, slowly moved from the Bosphorus to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. The important pass of Succus was betrayed by the fear or the misconduct of Maurus; and the barbarians, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the east, spread themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy and the Adriatic sea^f.

^d Valens had gained, or rather purchased, the friendship of the Saracens, whose vexatious inroads were felt on the borders of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. The christian faith had been lately introduced among a people, reserved, in a future age, to propagate another religion. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 104. 106. 141. *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 593.

^e Crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, subraucum et lugubre strepens. Ammian. xxxi. 16. and Vales. ad loc. The Arabs often fought naked; a custom which may be ascribed to their sultry climate, and ostentatious bravery. The description of this unknown savage is the lively portrait of Derar, a name so dreadful to the christians of Syria. See Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. i, p. 72. 84. 87.

^f The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Ammianus, xxxi. 15, 16. Zosimus (l. iv. p. 227. 231.) whom we are now reduced to cherish, misplaces the sally of the Arabs before the death of Valens. Eunapius (in *Excerpt. Legation.* p. 20.) praises the fertility of Thrace, Macedonia, etc.

The Romans, who so coolly and so concisely mention the acts of *justice* which were exercised by the legions^g, reserve their compassion and their eloquence for their own sufferings, when the provinces were invaded and desolated by the arms of the successful barbarians. The simple circumstantial narrative (did such a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a single family^h, might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners: but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient reader. The same censure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the profane and the ecclesiastical writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious animosity; and that the true size and colour of every object is falsified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jeromeⁱ might justly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths, and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms, “that, in those desert countries, nothing was left except the sky and the earth; that, after the destruction of

They ravage the Roman provinces.

A. D. 378, 379.

^g Observe with how much indifference Cæsar relates, in the *Commentaries* of the Gallic War; *that* he put to death the whole senate of the Veneti, who had yielded to his mercy; (iii. 16;) *that* he laboured to extirpate the whole nation of the Eburones; (vi. 31;) *that* forty thousand persons were massacred at Bourges by the just revenge of his soldiers, who spared neither age nor sex: vii. 27, etc.

^h Such are the accounts of the sack of Magdeburgh, by the ecclesiastic and the fisherman, which Mr. Harte has transcribed (*Hist. of Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 313—320.) with some apprehension of violating the dignity of history.

ⁱ Et vastatis urbibus, hominibusque interfectis, solitudinem et raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri et volatiliū, pisciumque: testis Illyricum est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum; (Pannonia;) ubi præter cælum et terram, et crescentes vepres, et condensa sylvarum cuncta perierunt. *Tom. vii. p. 250. ad l. Cap. Sophonias; and tom. i. p. 26.*

CHAP.
XXVI.

the cities, and the extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick forests and inextricable brambles; and that the universal desolation, announced by the prophet Zephaniah, was accomplished, in the scarcity of the beasts, the birds, and even of the fish." These complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and passage of the barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to supply new materials for rapine and destruction. Could it even be supposed that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the inferior productions of animated nature. The useful and feeble animals, which are nourished by the hand of man, might suffer and perish, if they were deprived of his protection; but the beasts of the forest, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. The various tribes that people the air or the waters, are still less connected with the fate of the human species; and it is highly probable, that the fish of the Danube would have felt more terror and distress from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

Massacre of
the Gothic
youth in
Asia.
A. D. 378.

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities of Europe, there was reason to fear that the same calamities would soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons of the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the east; and the arts of education were employed to polish and subdue the native fierceness of their temper. In the space of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increased; and the children, who in the first emigration were sent over the Hellespont, had attained, with rapid growth, the strength and spirit of perfect manhood^k. It was impossible to conceal from their

^k Eunapius (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 20.) foolishly supposes a preternatural growth of the young Goths; that he may introduce Cadmus's

knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as those daring youths had not studied the language of dissimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as unquestionable evidence, that the Goths of Asia had formed a secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the east without a sovereign; and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers, and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment, and perhaps suspended the motions of the conspiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or forum: the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the east, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who in a few months might have carried fire and sword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates¹. The

armed men, who sprung from the dragon's teeth, etc. Such was the Greek eloquence of the times.

¹ Ammianus evidently approves this execution, *efficacia velox et salu-*

CHAP.
XXVI.

The emperor Gratian invests Theodosius with the empire of the east. A. D. 379, January 19.

urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorize the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other consideration, may operate to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice, is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion: and even the sense of pity was soon lost in the serious and alarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support of a sinking world. A formidable tempest of the barbarians of Germany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the administration of the western empire. In this important crisis, the government of the east, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. A subject invested with such ample command would not long have preserved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the imperial council embraced the wise and manly resolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the wish of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; but at the age of nineteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated in the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his ministers

taris, which concludes his work: xxxi. 16. Zosimus, who is curious and copious, (l. iv. p. 233—236.) mistakes the date, and labours to find the reason why Julius did not consult the emperor Theodosius, who had not yet ascended the throne of the east.

and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he checked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the cautious wisdom which despaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminished something of the power and resources of the future sovereign of the east, the situation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, only three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of *his* authority, an unjust and ignominious death. The great Theodosius, a name celebrated in history, and dear to the catholic church^m, was summoned to the imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more secure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled troops, *his* colleague, and *their* master; who, after a modest, perhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Augustusⁿ. The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor: but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian prefecture was dismembered; and the two great dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the eastern empire^o.

The same province, and perhaps the same city^p, Birth and character

^m A life of Theodosius the great was composed in the last century, (Paris, 1679, in 4to; 1680, in 12mo.) to inflame the mind of the young dauphin with catholic zeal. The author, Flechier, afterwards bishop of Nismes, was a celebrated preacher; and his history is adorned, or tainted, with pulpit eloquence; but he takes his learning from Baronius, and his principles from St. Ambrose and St. Augustin.

ⁿ The birth, character, and elevation of Theodosius, are marked in Pacatus, in Panegy. Vet. xii. 10, 11, 12; Themistius, Orat. xiv. p. 182; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 231; Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, v. 25; Orosius, l. vii. c. 34; Sozomen, l. vii. c. 2; Socrates, l. v. c. 2; Theodoret, l. v. c. 5; Philostorgius, l. ix. c. 17. with Godefroy, p. 393; the Epitome of Victor; and the Chronicles of Prosper, Idatius, and Marcellinus, in the *Thesaurus Temporum* of Scaliger.

^o Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 716, etc.

^p *Italica*, founded by Scipio Africanus for his wounded veterans of *Italy*.

CHAP.
XXVI.of Theodo-
sius.

which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed near fourscore years the declining empire of Rome¹. They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosius, a general whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father². Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge in the most distant scenes of military action; inured his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates; distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command: and, in the station of duke of Mæsia, he vanquished an army of Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers; and provoked the envy of the court³. His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and Theodosius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a private life in his native province of Spain. He displayed

The ruins still appear, about a league above Seville, but on the opposite bank of the river. See the *Hispania Illustrata* of Nonius, a short though valuable treatise, c. xvii. p. 64—67.

¹ I agree with Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 726.) in suspecting the royal pedigree, which remained a secret till the promotion of Theodosius. Even after that event, the silence of Pacatus outweighs the venal evidence of Themistius, Victor, and Claudian, who connect the family of Theodosius with the blood of Trajan and Hadrian.

² Pacatus compares, and consequently prefers, the youth of Theodosius, to the military education of Alexander, Hannibal, and the second Africanus; who, like him, had served under their fathers: xii. 8.

³ Ammianus (xxix. 6.) mentions this victory of Theodosius junior dux Mæsiæ, prima etiam tum lanugine juvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus. The same fact is attested by Themistius and Zosimus: but Theodoret, (l. v. c. 5.) who adds some curious circumstances, strangely applies it to the time of the interregnum.

a firm and temperate character in the ease with which he adapted himself to this new situation. His time was almost equally divided between the town and country: the spirit which had animated his public conduct, was shown in the active and affectionate performance of every social duty; and the diligence of the soldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony^t, which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midst of a fruitful district, still famous for a most exquisite breed of sheep^u. From the innocent but humble labours of his farm, Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, to the throne of the eastern empire: and the whole period of the history of the world will not perhaps afford a similar example of an elevation, at the same time so pure and so honourable. The princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more secure, as it is absolutely distinct from the merits of their personal characters. The subjects who, in a monarchy or a popular state, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition; and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the arts, the desires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the exile would long since have been forgotten, if his genuine and distinguished

^t Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 9.) prefers the rustic life of Theodosius to that of Cincinnatus: the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty.

^u M. d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 25.) has fixed the situation of Caucha, or Coca, in the old province of Gallicia, where Zosimus and Idatius have placed the birth, or patrimony, of Theodosius.

CHAP.
XXVI.

virtues had not left a deep impression in the imperial court. During the season of prosperity, he had been neglected; but in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust, that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations must have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a single man could save and restore the empire of the east! Theodosius was invested with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful majesty of his person, which they were pleased to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilst intelligent observers discovered, in the qualities of his heart and understanding, a more important resemblance to the best and greatest of the Roman princes.

His prudent
and suc-
cessful con-
duct of the
Gothic war.
A. D.
379—382.

It is not without the most sincere regret, that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation*. The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example^y; and, in the study of the reign of Theodosius, we are reduced to illustrate the partial

* Let us hear Ammianus himself. *Hæc, ut miles quondam et Græcus, a principatu Cæsaris Nervæ exorsus, adusque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensura: nunquam, ut arbitror, sciens, silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores ætate, doctrinisque florescentes. Quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, procudere linguas ad majores moneo stilos.* Ammian. xxxi. 16. The first thirteen books, a superficial epitome of two hundred and fifty-seven years, are now lost: the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty-five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times.

^y Ammianus was the last subject of Rome who composed a profane history in the Latin language. The east, in the next century, produced some rhetorical historians, Zosimus, Olympiodorus, Malchus, Candidus, etc. See Vossius de Hist. Græcis, l. ii. c. 18; de Hist. Latinis, l. ii. c. 10, etc.

narrative of Zosimus, by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any signal or decisive victory of Theodosius over the barbarians; and the expressive silence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a mighty state, which has been reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the east, which contained so many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest and most common quality of human nature; and sufficient skill to encounter an undisciplined foe, might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the barbarians were mounted on the horses and equipped with the armour of their vanquished enemies, the numerous studs of Cappadocia and Spain would have supplied new squadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Asia might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the barbarians and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with inso-

lent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people, who fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces^a. The same terrors which the name of the Huns had spread among the Gothic tribes, were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire^a. If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears, and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the *great* Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian diocese^b; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Adriatic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened; and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and as they were seldom allowed to engage without some decisive superiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterprises were for the most part successful; and they were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their *invincible* enemies. The detachments of these separate

^a Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 344. edit. Montfaucon. I have verified and examined this passage; but I should never, without the aid of Tillemont, (Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 152.) have detected an historical anecdote, in a strange medley of moral and mystic exhortations, addressed by the preacher of Antioch to a young widow.

^a Eunapius, in Excerpt. Legation. p. 21.

^b See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Codex Theodos. tom. i. Prolegomen. p. xcix—civ.

garrisons were gradually united into small armies ; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to an extensive and well-concerted plan of operations ; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms ; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favourable reports of the success of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe, that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Fabius : and, while the splendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of posterity ; the camps and marches of the dictator, among the hills of Campania, may claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to share, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the merit of Theodosius ; and the infirmities of his body, which most unseasonably languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public service^c.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces^d was the work of prudence, rather than of valour : the prudence of Theodosius was seconded by fortune ; and the emperor never failed to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. As long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union and directed the motions of the barbarians, their power was not in-

C H A P.
XXVI.

Divisions,
defeat, and
submission
of the
Goths.
A. D.
379—382.

^c Most writers insist on the illness, and long repose, of Theodosius at Thessalonica : Zosimus, to diminish his glory ; Jornandes, to favour the Goths ; and the ecclesiastical writers, to introduce his baptism.

^d Compare Themistius, Orat. xiv. p. 181. with Zosimus, l. iv. p. 232 ; Jornandes, c. xxvii. p. 649 ; and the prolix Commentary of M. de Buat, Hist. des Peuples, etc. tom. vi. p. 477—552. The Chronicles of Idatius and Marcellinus allude, in general terms, to magna certamina, magna multaque prœlia. The two epithets are not easily reconciled.

adequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of discipline and discretion. The barbarians, who had been restrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates of their passions; and their passions were seldom uniform or consistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many disorderly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not less pernicious to themselves than to their enemies. Their mischievous disposition was shown in the destruction of every object which they wanted strength to remove, or taste to enjoy; and they often consumed, with improvident rage, the harvests, or the granaries, which soon afterwards became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of discord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a loose and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths; who were not disposed to use with moderation the advantages of their fortune: the ancient jealousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be suspended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the insults and injuries which they had reciprocally offered or sustained, while the nation was seated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive sentiment of national animosity; and the officers of Theodosius were instructed to purchase, with liberal gifts and promises, the retreat or service of the discontented party. The acquisition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cause of Rome. The illustrious deserter soon obtained the rank of master-general, with an important command; surprised an army of his countrymen, who were immersed in wine and sleep; and, after a cruel slaughter of the astonished Goths, returned with an

immense spoil, and four thousand waggons, to the imperial camp^c. In the hands of a skilful politician, the most different means may be successfully applied to the same ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the reunion, of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient spectator of these extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark recesses of the woods of Caucaland. He no longer hesitated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconveniences of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king a Gothic judge, whose birth they respected, and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. “The barbarian prince observed, with curious attention, the variety of objects which attracted his notice, and at last broke out into a sincere and passionate exclamation of wonder. I now behold, said he, what I never could believe, the glories of this stupendous capital! And as he cast his eyes around, he viewed, and he admired, the commanding situation of the city, the strength and beauty of the walls and public edifices, the capacious harbour, crowded with innumerable vessels, the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and the arms and discipline of the troops. Indeed, continued Athanaric, the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man who dares to lift his hand against him, is guilty of his

C H A P.
XXVI.

Death and
funeral of
Athanaric.
A.D. 381,
Jan. 25.

^c Zosimus (l. iv. p. 232.) styles him a Scythian, a name which the more recent Greeks seem to have appropriated to the Goths.

CHAP.
XXVI.

own blood^f." The Gothic king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected, that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the east; a stately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courtesy and decent grief of Theodosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire^g. The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption, became every day more powerful, and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge or justice of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens^h.

A. D. 382,
Oct. 3.

Invasion
and defeat
of the Gru-
thungi, or
Ostrogoths.
A. D. 386,
October.

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whose restless spirit had prompted them to

^f The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes, or the author whom he transcribed. *Regiam urbem ingressus est; miransque, En, inquit, cerno quod sæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis. Et huc illuc oculos volvens, nunc situm urbis commeatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara prospectans, miratur; populosque diversarum gentium, quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente unda, sic quoque militem ordinatum aspiciens. Deus, inquit, est sine dubio terrenus imperator; et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit.* Jornandes (c. xxviii. p. 650.) proceeds to mention his death and funeral.

^g Jornandes, c. xxviii. p. 650. Even Zosimus (l. iv. p. 246.) is compelled to approve the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to himself and so beneficial to the public.

^h The short but authentic hints in the *Fasti* of Idatius (Chron. Scaliger. p. 52.) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Themistius is a compliment to Peace, and the consul Saturninus, A. D. 383.

seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the west; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown countries of the north; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire, no longer recognised the name and countenances of their former enemiesⁱ. The general who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies whom he sent into the Gothic camp, allured the barbarians into a fatal snare. They were persuaded that, by a bold attempt, they might surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the sleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hastily embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes^k. The bravest of the Ostrogoths led the van; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their design; and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they should find

ⁱ Ἐθνος τὸ Σκυθακὸν πᾶσιν ἄγνωστον. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 252.

^k I am justified, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the μονόξυλα of the barbarians, the single trees hollowed into the shape of a boat, πληθεὶ μονοξύλων ἐμβιβάσαντες. Zosimus, l. iv. p. 253.

Ausi Danubium quondam tranare Gruthungi

In lintres fregere nemus: ter mille ruebant

Per fluvium plenæ cuneis immanibus alni.

Claudian, in iv. Cons. Hon. 623.

CHAP.
XXVI.

an easy landing, and an unguarded camp. But the progress of the barbarians was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle; a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of galleys, which were urged down the stream by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke, and sunk, and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the barbarians: their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king or general of the Ostrogoths, perished, with his bravest troops, either by the sword of the Romans, or in the waves of the Danube. The last division of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore: but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable either of action or counsel; and they soon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the passions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian, who misrepresents every action of his reign, affirms, that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the barbarians had been vanquished by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus¹. The flattering poet, who celebrated in the court of Honorius the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the victory to the personal prowess of Theodosius; and almost insinuates, that the king of the Ostrogoths was slain by the hand of the emperor^m. The truth of

¹ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 252—255. He too frequently betrays his poverty of judgement, by disgracing the most serious narratives with trifling and incredible circumstances.

^m ———— Odothæi regis *opima*

Retulit ————

Ver. 632.

The *opima* were the spoils which a Roman general could only win from the king or general of the enemy whom he had slain with his own hands: and no more than three such examples are celebrated in the victorious ages of Rome.

history might perhaps be found in a just medium between these extreme and contradictory assertions.

CHAP.
XXVI.

The original treaty which fixed the settlement of the Goths, ascertained their privileges, and stipulated their obligations, would illustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. The series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit and substance of this singular agreementⁿ. The ravages of war and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile but uncultivated land, for the use of those barbarians who might not disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Visigoths was seated in Thrace: the remains of the Ostrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia; their immediate wants were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle; and their future industry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute during a certain term of years. The barbarians would have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the imperial court, if they had suffered themselves to be dispersed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the sole possession of the villages and districts assigned for their residence; they still cherished and propagated their native manners and language; asserted, in the bosom of despotism, the freedom of their domestic government; and acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor, without submitting to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were still permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the east; and those haughty

Settlement
of the Goths
in Thrace
and Asia.
A.D.
383—395.

ⁿ See Themistius, Orat. xvi. p. 211. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 152.) mentions the Phrygian colony:

—Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis
Phryx ager——

and then proceeds to name the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus and Hermus.

CHAP.
XXVI.

troops, who assumed the title of *fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms, and the knowledge of discipline; and while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans^o. Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation^p. A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions^q. The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; but the experience of past times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that their manners would be polished by time, education, and the influence of christianity; and that their

^o Compare Jornandes, (c. xx. 27.) who marks the condition and number of the Gothic *fœderati*, with Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 258.) who mentions their golden collars, and Pacatus, (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 37.) who applauds, with false or foolish joy, their bravery and discipline.

^p *Amator pacis generisque Gothorum*, is the praise bestowed by the Gothic historian, (c. xxix.) who represents his nation as innocent, peaceable men, slow to anger, and patient of injuries. According to Livy, the Romans conquered the world in their own defence.

^q Besides the partial invectives of Zosimus, (always discontented with the christian reigns,) see the grave representations which Synesius addresses to the emperor Arcadius: de Regno, p. 25, 26. edit. Petav. The philosophic bishop of Cyrene was near enough to judge; and he was sufficiently removed from the temptation of fear or flattery.

posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people¹. CHAP.
XXVI.

Notwithstanding these specious arguments and these sanguine expectations, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent behaviour expressed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they insulted with impunity². To the zeal and valour of the barbarians, Theodosius was indebted for the success of his arms: but their assistance was precarious; and they were sometimes seduced, by a treacherous and inconstant disposition, to abandon his standard, at the moment when their service was the most essential. During the civil war against Maximus, a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the morasses of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expose his person, and exert his power, to suppress the rising flame of rebellion³. The public apprehensions were fortified by the strong suspicion that these tumults were not the effect of accidental passion, but the result of deep and premeditated design. It was generally believed, that the Goths had signed the treaty of peace with an hostile and insidious spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound themselves, by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the fairest show of loyalty and friendship, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of

¹ Themistius (Orat. xvi. p. 211, 212.) composes an elaborate and rational apology, which is not, however, exempt from the puerilities of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could *only* charm the wild beasts of Thrace: but Theodosius enchanted the men and women, whose predecessors in the same country had torn Orpheus in pieces, etc.

² Constantinople was deprived, half a day, of the public allowance of bread, to expiate the murder of a Gothic soldier: *κινούντες τὸ Σκυθικὸν* was the guilt of the people. Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 394. edit. Morel.

³ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 267—271. He tells a long and ridiculous story of the adventurous prince, who roved the country with only five horsemen; of a spy whom they detected, whipped, and killed in an old woman's cottage, etc.

conquest, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the barbarians were not insensible to the power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders sincerely devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or at least of the emperor: the whole nation was insensibly divided into two opposite factions; and much sophistry was employed in conversation and dispute, to compare the obligations of their first and second engagements. The Goths, who considered themselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrymen by the politeness of his manners, the liberality of his sentiments, and the mild virtues of social life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Priulf, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition of the imperial guards^u. Such were the scenes of barbaric rage which disgraced

^u Compare Eunapius, in *Excerpt. Legat.* p. 21, 22. with Zosimus, l. iv. p. 279. The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Fravitta, or Travitta, was afterwards consul, (A.D. 401.) and still continued his faithful service to the eldest son of Theodosius. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 467.

the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man^x.

C H A P.
XXVI.

^x Les Goths ravagèrent tout depuis le Danube jusqu'au Bosphore; exterminèrent Valens et son armée; et ne repassèrent le Danube, que pour abandonner l'affreuse solitude qu'ils avoient faite. Œuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii. p. 479; Considérations sur les *Causes* de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains, c. xvii. The president Montesquieu seems ignorant, that the Goths, after the defeat of Valens, *never* abandoned the Roman territory. It is now thirty years, says Claudian, (de Bello Getico, 166, etc. A. D. 404.)

Ex quo jam patrios gens hæc oblita Triones,
Atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fixit
Threicio funesta solo————

The error is inexcusable; since it disguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the western empire of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEATH OF GRATIAN.—RUIN OF ARIANISM.—ST. AMBROSE.
—FIRST CIVIL WAR, AGAINST MAXIMUS.—CHARACTER,
ADMINISTRATION, AND PENANCE OF THEODOSIUS.—
DEATH OF VALENTINIAN THE SECOND.—SECOND CIVIL
WAR, AGAINST EUGENIUS.—DEATH OF THEODOSIUS.

Character
and conduct
of the em-
peror Gra-
tian.

A. D.
379—383.

THE fame of Gratian, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was equal to that of the most celebrated princes. His gentle and amiable disposition endeared him to his private friends; the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people: the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taste and eloquence, of their sovereign; his valour and dexterity in arms were equally applauded by the soldiers; and the clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian, as the first and most useful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar had delivered the west from a formidable invasion; and the grateful provinces of the east ascribed the merits of Theodosius to the author of *his* greatness and of the public safety. Gratian survived those memorable events only four or five years; but he survived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

His defects.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct, may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had besieged the son of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headstrong passions, which that gentle youth appears to have escaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of experience and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderness of his father was continually employed to be-

stow on him those advantages, which he might perhaps esteem the more highly, as he himself had been deprived of them; and the most skilful masters of every science, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince^a. The knowledge which they painfully communicated was displayed with ostentation, and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fair impression of their judicious precepts; and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and consequence of ministers of state^b; and, as they wisely dissembled their secret authority, he seemed to act with firmness, with propriety, and with judgement, on the most important occasions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who so accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary to the happiness, and almost to the existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed those faithful counsellors from the throne, the emperor of the west insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched forwards to grasp them; and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favour and injustice was instituted, both in the court and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose merit it was made *sacrilege* to

^a Valentinian was less attentive to the religion of his son; since he intrusted the education of Gratian to Ausonius, a professed pagan. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 125—138. The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age.

^b Ausonius was successively promoted to the pretorian prefecture of Italy (A. D. 377.) and of Gaul, (A. D. 378.) and was at length invested with the consulship, (A. D. 379.) He expressed his gratitude in a servile and insipid piece of flattery, (Actio Gratiarum, p. 699—736.) which has survived more worthy productions.

CHAP.
XXVII.

question^c. The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by saints and bishops^d; who procured an imperial edict to punish, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance, of the divine law^e. Among the various arts which had exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himself, with singular inclination and success, to manage the horse, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the viler purposes of hunting. Large parks were enclosed for the imperial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of wild beasts; and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to consume whole days in the vain display of his dexterity and boldness in the chace. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excel in an art in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves, reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaste and temperate Gratian was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals^f.

Discontent
of the Ro-
man troops.
A. D. 383.

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil

^c Disputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim instar est dubitare, an is dignus sit, quem elegerit imperator. Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 3. This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

^d Ambrose composed, for his instruction, a theological treatise on the faith of the Trinity: and Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 158. 169.) ascribes to the archbishop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

^e Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem, nesciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violent, et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt. Codex Justinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 1. Theodosius indeed may claim his share in the merit of this comprehensive law.

^f Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and accuse, or rather lament, his degenerate taste. The odious parallel of Commodus is saved by "licet iucruentus;" and perhaps Philostorgius (l. x. c. 10. and Godefroy, p. 412.) had guarded, with some similar reserve, the comparison of Nero.

of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the familiar conversation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taste for hunting and shooting, he naturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favourite amusement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domestic service of the palace; and the admirable skill which they were accustomed to display in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exercised, on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and enclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom alone he intrusted the defence of his person: and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently showed himself to the soldiers and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow, the sounding quiver, and the fur garments, of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dress and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation^s. Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the north, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the west; and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom, law, religion,

^s Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 247.) and the younger Victor, ascribe the revolution to the favour of the Alani, and the discontent of the Roman troops. *Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad se transtulerat, anteferebat veteri ac Romano militi.*

CHAP.
XXVII.

Revolt of
Maximus in
Britain.

and the nice balance of the civil and military powers, which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to enquire from what causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder: the seeds of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and usurpers^h; the legions of that sequestered island had been long famous for a spirit of presumption and arroganceⁱ; and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary but unanimous voice both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment: the events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be unwilling to find some evidence for the marriage which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire^k. But this provincial rank might justly be considered as a state of exile and obscurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general^l. His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could

^h Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, is a memorable expression, used by Jerome in the Pelagian controversy, and variously tortured in the disputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the last age appeared to justify the image of the sublime Bossuet, "cette isle, plus orageuse que les mers qui l'environnent."

ⁱ Zosimus says of the British soldiers, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πλέον αὐθαδεῖα καὶ θόρυβος νικημένων.

^k Helena the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may still be seen at Caersegont, now Caer-narvon: Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 168. from Rowland's Mona Antiqua. The prudent reader may not perhaps be satisfied with such Welsh evidence.

^l Camden (vol. i. Introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as usual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zosimus had taken some pains to prevent this error or fable; and I shall protect myself by their decisive testimonies. Regali habitu exulem suum, illi exules orbis induerunt; (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 23;) and the Greek historian, still less equivocally, αὐτὸς (Maximus) δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐντυμον ἐτυχῇ προελθὼν: l. iv. p. 248.

extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might incline him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult, he artfully, or modestly, refused to ascend the throne; and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration, that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the imperial purple^m.

CHAP.
XXVII.

But there was danger likewise in refusing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian: the youth of the island crowded to his standard; and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nationⁿ. The emperor, in his peaceful residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit and desperate situation; and deprived him of the resources which he still might have found in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the shame of the desertion

Flight and
death of
Gratian.

^m Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. ii. 7; Orosius, l. vii. c. 34. p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his subject) his innocence and merit. It is singular enough, that Maximus should be less favourably treated by Zosimus, the partial adversary of his rival.

ⁿ Archbishop Usher (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccles. p. 107, 108.) has diligently collected the legends of the island, and the continent. The whole emigration consisted of thirty thousand soldiers, and one hundred thousand plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, St. Ursula with eleven thousand noble and sixty thousand plebeian virgins, mistook their way, landed at Cologne, and were all most cruelly murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian sisters have been defrauded of their equal honours; and, what is still harder, John Trithemius presumes to mention the *children* of these British virgins.

CHAP.
XXVII.

was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace, abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the west fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother, and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the east, if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonnese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity, and the hopes of a support which could not be effectual, till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed, without remorse, the orders or the intentions of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered into the hands of the assassin; and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian^o. The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation which is the just recompense of obscure and subtle policy^p. These executions might be necessary to the public safety: but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the west, had the merit and the satisfaction of boasting, that, except those who had

A.D. 383,
August 25.

^o Zosimus (l. iv. p. 248, 249.) has transported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singidunum in Moesia. Some hints may be extracted from the *Chronicles*; some lies may be detected in *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 13; and *Socrates*, l. v. c. 11. Ambrose is our most authentic evidence: tom. i. *Enarrat. in Psalm. lxi.* p. 961. tom. ii. *epist.* xxiv. p. 888, etc. and *de Obitu Valentinian. Consolat. No. 28.* p. 1182.

^p Pacatus (xii. 28.) celebrates his fidelity; while his treachery is marked in *Prosper's Chronicle* as the cause of the ruin of Gratian. Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful servant of Gratian: tom. ii. *epist.* xxiv. p. 891. edit. *Benedict.*

perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans⁹. CHAP.
XXVII.

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid succession, that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of sincere grief, or ostentatious mourning, the eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus: and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by eunuchs, announced to the court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or excuse, the conduct of his master; and to protest, in specious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman, and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute in a field of battle the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian he had received the imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion, that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the

Treaty of
peace be-
tween
Maximus
and Theo-
dosius.
A. D.
383—387.

⁹ He protested, *nullum ex adversariis nisi in acie occubuisse*. Sulp. Severus in Vit. B. Martin. c. 23. The orator of Theodosius bestows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praise on his clemency. *Si cui ille, pro ceteris sceleribus suis, minus crudelis fuisse videtur*: Panegy. Vet. xii, 28.

C H A P.
XXVII.

principles of justice, and the interest of society, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus: and the example of successful usurpation would tend to dissolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign by the sense of superior duties: and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire: the east was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended, that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the barbarians of the north. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated, that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory and the laws of the deceased emperor^r. According to the custom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor should it be lightly supposed, that, in the moment of a solemn reconciliation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge^s.

^r Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, *quas non abrogavit hostis*: tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 827.

^s Zosimus, l. iv. p. 251, 252. We may disclaim his odious suspicions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace, which the friends of Theodosius have absolutely forgotten, or slightly mentioned.

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment.

CHAP.
XXVII.

His profound veneration for the christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honours, both on earth and in heaven^t. The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss: but they were soon comforted by the discovery, that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the east to the hands of a prince, whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism^u from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica^x: and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure," such is the imperial style, "that all the nations which are governed by our

Baptism
and ortho-
dox edicts of
Theodosius.
A.D. 380,
Feb. 28.

^t Their oracle, the archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian an high and respectable place in heaven: tom. ii. de Obit. Val. Consol. p. 1193.

^u For the baptism of Theodosius, see Sozomen, l. vii. c. 4; Socrates, l. v. c. 6; and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.

^x Ascolius, or Acholius, was honoured by the friendship and the praises of Ambrose; who styles him murus fidei atque sanctitatis, tom. ii. epist. xv. p. 820; and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, etc. (epist. xvi. p. 822.) a virtue which does not appertain either to a wall or a bishop.

clémency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles, and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a pious trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of catholic christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics; and declare, that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them^y. The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction, rather than of enquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the visible landmarks of orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds, of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband; and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed on his eldest son Arcadius, the name and honours of Augustus; and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the

^y Codex Theodos. l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 5—9. Such an edict deserved the warmest praises of Baronius, auream sanctionem, edictum pium et salutare.—Sic itur ad astra.

throne; and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness which he might have used towards a plebeian child.. Provoked by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming, with a loud voice, "Such is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of heaven has prepared for those impious men who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son." Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson which he had received from this dramatic parable².

C H A P.
XXVII.

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long interval of forty years³, the faith of the princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the east, was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis; and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes with some pleasantry the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of

Arianism of
Constanti-
nople.
A. D.
340—380.

² Sozomen, l. vii. c. 6; Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is displeased (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vi. p. 627, 628.) with the terms of "rustic bishop," "obscure city." Yet I must take leave to think, that both Amphilocheus and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.

³ Sozomen, l. vii. c. 5; Socrates, l. v. c. 7; Marcellin. in Chron. The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Eusebius; who wisely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

C H A P.
XXVII.

Gregory
Nazianzen

silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you enquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing^b." The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the homoeousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion; and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd, to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves^c. But as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression; they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen^d, were distinguished above all their contemporaries^e, by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves and by the public, to the

^b See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty-third oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the *words* of this remarkable passage, which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar.

^c See the thirty-second oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in one thousand eight hundred iam-bics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

^d I confess myself deeply indebted to the *two* lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 305—560. 692—731*; and Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 1—128*.

^e Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received; because it removes the scandal of Gregory's father, a saint likewise, begetting children after he became a bishop. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 693—697*.

most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil, from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Cæsarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult^f. Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima^g, without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile: he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus^h, of

CHAP.
XXVII.

^f Gregory's poem on his own life contains some beautiful lines, (tom. ii. p. 8.) which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship:

———— πόννοι κοινοὶ λόγων,
'Ομόστεγός τε καὶ συνίστιος βίος,
Νοῦς εἰς ἓν ἀμφοῖν ———
Διασκέδασται πάντα ἐρρίπτται χάμαι,
Ἀδρα φέρουσι τὰς παλαιὰς ἐλπίδας.

In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
The sister's vows, etc.

Shakespeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen: he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother tongue, the language of nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

^g This unfavourable portrait of Sasima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vita sua, p. 7, 8. Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, p. 144. edit. Wesseling.

^h The name of Nazianzus has been immortalized by Gregory; but his

CHAP.
XXVII.

accepts the
mission of
Constanti-
nople.

A. D. 378,
November.

which his father had been bishop above five and forty years. But as he was still conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Anastasia* was chosen, to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the mother of Godⁱ. The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary^k. The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd "of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of goats or satyrs; and of women, more terrible than so many Jezebels." The doors of the Anastasia were broke open; much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morn-

native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæsarea, (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 692.*) is mentioned by Pliny, (vi. 3.) Ptolemy, and Hierocles: *Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 709.* It appears to have been situate on the edge of Isauria.

ⁱ See Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, l. iv. p. 141, 142. The *θεῖα δύναμις* of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

^k Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 432, etc.*) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himself.

ing before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus^l, and the cloak of a cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and forming a secret connection with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher^m, or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practiceⁿ.

C H A P.
XXVII.

The catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative, of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox be-

Ruin of
Arianism at
Constanti-
nople.
A. D. 380,
Nov. 26.

^l He pronounced an oration (tom. i. orat. xxiii. p. 409.) in his praise; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron: see Jerome, tom. i. in Catalog. Script. Eccles. p. 301. I touch slightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

^m Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii. carmen ix. p. 78.) describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor St. Jerome, (tom. i. epist. ad Nepotian. p. 14.) that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause.

ⁿ *Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint*, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerome.

lievers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hesitation, a life of poverty and exile^o; and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill: whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but as the angels who protected the catholic cause were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd: that the glittering arms which surrounded his person were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude, of either sex and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installa-

^o Socrates (l. v. c. 7.) and Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to *resist* the powerful: but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to *submit*.

tion, the capital of the east wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror^p. About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force^q; and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the east. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist^r, would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion: but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the schools as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are

CHAP.
XXVII.

In the east.
A. D. 381,
Jan. 10.

^p See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vita sua, p. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November it was a cloudy morning; but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church.

^q Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 2.) has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.) judiciously removes from the reign of Gratian to that of Theodosius.

^r I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 19.) the expulsion of Damophilus. The Eunomian historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox sieve.

CHAP.
XXVII.

always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine favour; while the follower of Arius must have been tormented by the secret apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise and parsimonious honours which he bestowed on the Judge of the world. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind; but the doctrine of the Nicene creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council
of Constantinople.
A. D. 381,
May.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God; and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the *second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *third* person of the Trinity². Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians, who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *three* Gods. A final

² Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 91—105.) of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, etc. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled *tritheists* as *ditheists*. Gregory himself was almost a tritheist; and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches, of the christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius, the second rank among the general councils^t. Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the fathers of Constantinople. In an age when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent and disturb the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were, the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a per-

^t The first general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican: but the popes had long hesitated; and their hesitation perplexes, and almost staggers, the humble Tillemont: *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 499, 500.

CHAP.
XXVII.

jured candidate", rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the east, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese¹.

Retreat of
Gregory
Nazianzen.
A. D. 381.

A suspicion may possibly arise, that so unfavourable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president: in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced², instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor.

¹ Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch. Sozomen, l. vii. c. 3. 11; Socrates, l. v. c. 5. Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story; but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian, which seem inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the character of a saint. *Mém. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 541.

² Consult Gregory Nazianzen, de Vita sua, tom. ii. p. 25—28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies, may be seen in verse and prose: tom. i. orat. i. p. 33. epist. iv. p. 814; tom. ii. carmen x. p. 81. Such passages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.

³ See Gregory, tom. ii. de Vita sua, p. 28—31. The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second orations were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The peroration of the last, tom. i. p. 528.) in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the east and the west, etc. is pathetic, and a most sublime.

But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the east, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church, which had been restored, and almost created, by his labours. His resignation was accepted, by the synod and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously despatched the rites of his baptism². After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of poetry and devotion. The title of saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart³, and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the catholics sus-

Edicts of
Theodosius
against the
heretics.

² The whimsical ordination of Nectarius is attested by Sozomen, l. vii. c. 8: but Tillemont observes, (Mém. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 719.) Après tout, ce narré de Sozomène est si honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mêle, et surtout pour Théodose, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le détruire, qu'à le soutenir: an admirable canon of criticism!

³ I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper, when it was not hardened or inflamed by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople,

C H A P.
XXVII.

A. D.
380—394.

tained from the zeal of Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics^b; more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers who usurped the sacred titles of bishops or presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rites, of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination: and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with

^b See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6—23. with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general summary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. p. 104—110.

the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building, or ground, which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication, which separated them from their fellow-citizens by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a fanatic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honourable or lucrative employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed, that, as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichæan heresy was esteemed of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *quartodecimans*^c, who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating on an improper day the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *inquisitors* of the faith, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured, that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less

^c They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciously opposed the Roman church and Nicene synod, which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, l. xx. c. 5. vol. ii. p. 309. fol. edit.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Execution
of Priscil-
lian and his
associates.
A.D. 385.

desirous to punish, than to reclaim or terrify, his refractory subjects^d.

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague Maximus, the first among the christian princes who shed the blood of his christian subjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists^e, a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bordeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the pretorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian^f himself, bishop of Avila^g, in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters and two deacons accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bordeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius^h. Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned

^d Sozomen, l. vii. c. 12.

^e See the Sacred History of Sulpicius Severus, (l. ii. p. 437—452. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647.) a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (Credibility, etc. part ii. vol. ix. p. 256—350.) has laboured this article with pure learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclési. tom. viii. p. 491—527.) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers: an useful scavenger!

^f Sulpicius Severus mentions the arch-heretic with esteem and pity. *Felix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium: prorsus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneret.* Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 439. Even Jerome (tom. i. in Script. Eccles. p. 302.) speaks with temper of Priscillian and Latronian.

^g The bishopric (in Old Castile) is now worth twenty thousand ducats a year, (Busching's Geography, vol. ii. p. 308.) and is therefore much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy.

^h *Exprobatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas. Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. xii. 29.* Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant, polytheist.

to a distant and dreary exile¹; and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness². Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia had been suppressed by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid enquiry will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichæan system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the west. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people; but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane incon-

¹ One of them was sent in *Syllinam insulam quæ ultra Britanniam est*. What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly? Camden's *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1519.

² The scandalous calumnies of Augustin, pope Leo, etc. which Tillemont swallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some candid suspicions in favour of the older Gnostics.

sistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan¹, and Martin of Tours^m; who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised and shocked by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithaciusⁿ, who beheld the tortures and solicited the death of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church,

¹ Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 891.

^m In the Sacred History, and the Life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uses some caution; but he declares himself more freely in the Dialogues: iii. 15. Martin was reprov'd, however, by his own conscience, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with so much ease.

ⁿ The catholic presbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448.) and the pagan orator (Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. xii. 29.) reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius.

which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

C H A P.
XXVII.

Among the ecclesiastics who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours^o; but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose^p. He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of pretorian prefect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title: the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and re-

Ambrose,
archbishop
of Milan.

A. D.
374—397.

^o The life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good taste and good sense, that I am always astonished by this contrast.

^p The short and superficial life of St. Ambrose, by his deacon Paulinus, (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. i—xv.) has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont, (Mém. Ecclés. tom. x. p. 78—306.) and the Benedictine editors, (p. xxxi—lxxiii.) have laboured with their usual diligence.

CHAP.
XXVII.

vered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was despatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy^q. Ambrose had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

His successful opposition to the empress Justina. A.D. 385, April 3—10.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Justina, a woman of beauty and spirit, but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles^r. The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar; but the churches were the houses of God; and,

^q Ambrose himself (tom. ii. epist. xxiv. p. 888—891.) gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.

^r His own representation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii. epist. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 852—880.) is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon *de Basilicis non tradendis*.

within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference or negociation with the instruments of satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject; but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days which christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first the Portian, and afterwards the new *basilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their

CHAP. lives: and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation
XXVII. of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the most cruel persecutions which christianity had endured under the reign of paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers and inferior servants of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses: and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar: *he* had not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people: he deprecated the scenes of blood and confusion which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer, that he might not survive to behold the ruin of

a flourishing city, and perhaps the desolation of all Italy^s." The obstinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *basilica*, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected, from the Arian principles and barbarous manners of these foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered on the sacred threshold by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic. The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the catholics. By the influence of Justina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan: the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor de-

CHAP.
XXVII.

* Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, etc. A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de douleur, de regret, et de soumission, etc. Mémoires, tom. i. p. 140. Certainly I do not compare either the causes, or the men; yet the coadjutor himself had some idea (p. 84.) of imitating St. Ambrose.

clared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution, should be capitally punished as the enemies of the public peace^t. The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers; who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints, who have preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty, appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people^u. They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack, of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signalizing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius^x, had been deposited above three hundred

^t Sozomen alone (l. vii. c. 13.) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

^u *Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonita atque turbata.* Augustin. Confession. l. ix. c. 7.

^x Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ii. p. 78. 498. Many churches in Italy,

years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found^y, with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and the preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man^z, and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte the celebrated Augustin, who at that time professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expense, of the archbishop^a. Their effect, however, on the minds of the people, was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose: the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship;

Gaul, etc. were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervase seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

^y *Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca ætas ferebat*: tom. ii. epist. xxii. p. 875. The size of these skeletons was fortunately, or skilfully, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature; which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

^z Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xxii. p. 875; Augustin. Confes. l. ix. c. 7. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8; Paulin. in Vita St. Ambros. c. 14. in Append. Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life (at least twenty-five years) to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.

^a Paulin. in Vit. St. Ambros. c. 5. in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Maximus
invades
Italy.
A. D. 387,
August.

and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul^b.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most flourishing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness; and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted^c from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his catholic subjects. But as Maximus wished to occupy without resistance the passes of the Alps, he received with perfidious smiles Domninus of Syria, the ambassador of Valentinian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops, for the service of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares of an enemy under the professions of friendship^d; but the Syrian Domninus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty

^b Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. x. p. 190. 750. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius; and capriciously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

^c The modest censure of Sulpicius (*Dialog.* iii. 15.) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus: xii. 26, 26.

^d *Esto tutior adversus hominem, pacis involacro tegentem*, was the wise caution of Ambrose (tom. ii. p. 891.) after his return from his second embassy.

tyrant followed, with hasty and silent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour, and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry, first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justina and her son might accuse their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and resolution, to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field, or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connection with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms, by inculcating from the pulpit the duty of resignation, rather than that of resistance*. The unfortunate Justina reached Aquileia in safety: but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of a siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the west. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia or Istria; traversed the whole extent of the Adriatic and Ionian seas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long but successful navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince, who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Flight of
Valenti-
nian.

* Baronius (A.D. 387. No. 63.) applies to this season of public distress some of the penitential sermons of the archbishop.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Theodosius
takes arms
in the cause
of Valenti-
nian.

A. D. 387.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and senate. After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the east gently admonished Justina, that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred by Theodosius to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice, had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The barbarians who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native fierceness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exercise their valour and diminish their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated whether he should draw the sword in a contest which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons, and the welfare of his exhausted peo-

ple. In this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian^f. The heart of Théodosius was softened by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelible stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess, that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world, some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, amidst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish with peculiar complacency a gentle hero, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea. The skilful disposition of the forces of the east seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximus. He had reason to fear, that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhætian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epi-

^f The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodosius for his sister, are related by Zosimus, l. iv. p. 263, 264. Tillemont produces some weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the second marriage of Theodosius, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 740.) and consequently to refute ces contes de Zosime, qui seroient trop contraires à la piété de Théodose.

CHAP.
XXVII.

rus, with an apparent design, that as soon as the passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian and his mother should land in Italy, proceed without delay to Rome, and occupy the majestic seat of religion and empire. In the mean while, Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the siege of Æmona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

Defeat and
death of
Maximus.
A. D. 388,
June—August.

The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance and successive resources of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the west, was easily decided in the term of two months^s, and within the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the east might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important crisis, showed himself destitute of military skill or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback, and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts, which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp con-

^s See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Cod. Theodos. tom. i. p. cxix.

flict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Æmona, Theodosius pressed forwards, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple slippers; and conducted like a malefactor to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he showed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the west, who had never been his personal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice, and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the soldiers, who drew him out of the imperial presence, and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with sincere or well-dissembled joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theo-

CHAP.
XXVII.

dosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan, to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire^b.

Virtues of
Theodosius.

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty, and without reluctanceⁱ; and posterity will confess, that the character of Theodosius^k might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyric. The wisdom of his laws, and the success of his arms, rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate: he enjoyed, without excess, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; his uncle was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent: Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his

^b Besides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles and ecclesiastical history, Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 259—267.) Orosius, (l. vii. c. 35.) and Pacatus (in Panegy. Vet. xii. 30—47.) supply the loose and scanty materials of this civil war. Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 952, 953.) darkly alludes to the well-known events of a magazine surprised, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps a naval, victory, etc. Ausonius (p. 256. edit. Toll.) applauds the peculiar merit and good fortune of Aquileia.

ⁱ Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum siluisse de principe. Pacat. in Panegy. Vet. xii. 2. Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome, A. D. 388. He was afterwards proconsul of Africa; and his friend Ausonius praises him as a poet, second only to Virgil. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 303.

^k See the fair portrait of Theodosius, by the younger Victor; the strokes are distinct, and the colours are mixed. The praise of Pacatus is too vague; and Claudian always seems afraid of exalting the father above the son.

numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously selected from among those persons who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask: the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours and services, which he had received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious or lively tone of his conversation was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character of his subjects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an useful, or even of an innocent nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time and the abilities of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable reputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his leisure for the instructive amusement of reading. History, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, presented him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed, that whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodosius has deserved the singular commendation, that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune: the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the most con-

CHAP.
XXVII.

Feb. 26.

They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a feeble opposition, discharged itself on the images of the imperial family, which were erected as objects of public veneration in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, were insolently thrown down from their pedestals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets: and the indignities which were offered to the representations of imperial majesty, sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to reflect on the nature and consequences of her crime^p. According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province despatched a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime, and the assurances of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop, and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and most probably the disciple, of Libanius; whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country^q. But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithstanding the diligence of the imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense.

^p The christians and pagans agreed in believing that the sedition of Antioch was excited by the demons. A gigantic woman (says Sozomen, l. vii. c. 23.) paraded the streets with a scourge in her hand. An old man (says Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 396.) transformed himself into a youth, then a boy, etc.

^q Zosimus, in his short and disingenuous account, (l. iv. p. 258, 259.) is certainly mistaken in sending Libanius himself to Constantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians; and they heard with terror, that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and more especially to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants^r; many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehensions, to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-four days March 22. after the sedition, the general Hellebicus, and Cæsarius master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the east, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Laodicea^s. The baths, the circus, and the theatres, were shut: and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished, by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to enquire into the guilt of individuals; of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæsarius, encompassed with armed soldiers, was erected in the midst of the forum. The noblest and most wealthy of the citizens of Antioch appeared before them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended according to the judgement of these extraordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced from affluence and luxury to

^r Libanius (*Orat. i. p. 6. edit. Venet.*) declares, that, under such a reign, the fear of a massacre was groundless and absurd, especially in the emperor's absence; for his presence, according to the eloquent slave, might have given a sanction to the most bloody acts.

^s Laodicea, on the sea-coast, sixty-five miles from Antioch: see Noris *Epoch. Syro-Maced. Dissert. iii. p. 230.* The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia should presume to intercede for them.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Clemency
of Theodo-
sius.

April 25.

the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day¹, which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgement of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed with reluctance the cruel task which had been assigned them: they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they listened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the monks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains². Hellebicus and Cæsarius were persuaded to suspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed, that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople, and presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendship, rather than the stern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison doors were thrown open; the senators, who despaired of their lives, recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the east was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and splendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren: he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A thousand new statues arose to the clemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was ratified by the

¹ As the days of the tumult depend on the *moveable* festival of Easter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious enquiry, by Tillement, *Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 741—744. and Montfaucon, *Chrysostom*, tom. xiii. p. 105—110.

² Chrysostom opposes *their* courage, which was not attended with much risk, to the cowardly flight of the cynics.

approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confessed, that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure of a sovereign*.

The sedition of Thessalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botheric, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into prison by the order of Botheric; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite, and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was imbibed by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have inflicted a severe punishment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exasperate the grief

CHAP.
XXVII.

Sedition and
massacre of
Thessalo-
nica.
A. D. 390.

* The sedition of Antioch is represented in a lively, and almost dramatic manner, by two orators, who had their respective shares of interest and merit. See Libanius, *Orat.* xiv. xv. p. 389—420. edit. Morel. *Orat.* i. p. 1—14. Venet. 1754; and the twenty orations of St. John Chrysostom, *de statutis*, tom. ii. p. 1—225. edit. Montfaucon. I do not pretend to much personal acquaintance with Chrysostom; but Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 263—283.) and Hermant (*Vie de St. Chrysostome*, tom. i. p. 137—224.) had read him with pious curiosity and diligence.

and indignation of his master. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodosius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial enquiry; and he hastily resolved, that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind still fluctuated between the counsels of clemency and of revenge: the zeal of the bishops had almost extorted from the reluctant emperor the promise of a general pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The punishment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal conspiracy. The people of Thessalonica were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus: and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements, that every consideration of fear or suspicion was disregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been posted round the circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of age or sex, of innocence or guilt: the most moderate accounts state the number of the slain at seven thousand; and it is affirmed by some writers, that more than fifteen thousand victims were sacrificed to the manes of Boethic. A foreign merchant, who had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life, and all his wealth, to supply the place of *one* of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose, and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense, by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assassins, that they were obliged to produce the

prescribed number of heads, serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even present, to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed[†].

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion, that every measure of civil government may have some connection with the glory of God, and the interest of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue, or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan*. He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable,

CHAP.
XXVII.

Influence
and conduct
of Ambrose.
A.D. 388.

[†] The original evidence of Ambrose, (tom. ii. epist. li. p. 998.) Augustin, (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.) and Paulinus, (in Vit. Ambros. c. 24.) is delivered in vague expressions of horror and pity. It is illustrated by the subsequent and unequal testimonies of Sozomen, l. vii. c. 25; Theodoret, l. v. c. 17; Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 62; Cedrenus, p. 317; and Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 34. Zosimus alone, the partial enemy of Theodosius, most unaccountably passes over in silence the worst of his actions.

* See the whole transaction in Ambrose, tom. ii. epist. xl. xli. p. 946—956. and his biographer Paulinus, c. 23. Bayle and Barbeyrac (Morales des Pères, c. xviii. p. 325, etc.) have justly condemned the archbishop.

CHAP.
XXVII.

perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the jewish as the persecution of the christian religion; boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit^a, publicly addressed the emperor on his throne^b; nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of Theodosius was sincere^c; and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

Penance of
Theodosius.
A.D. 390.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying^d

^a His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond-tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

^b *Hodie, episcopo, de me proposuisti.* Ambrose modestly confessed it: but he sternly reprimanded Timasius, general of the horse and foot, who had presumed to say, that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

^c Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogues. *Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9.* with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 225.

^d *Ambros. tom. ii. epist. li. p. 997—1001.* His epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste or genius; without the spirit

an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance that he had been warned in a vision, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence, of Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years*: and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the arch-

of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustin.

* According to the discipline of St. Basil, (Canon lvi.) the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner; *five* an hearer; *seven* in a prostrate state; and *four* in a standing posture. I have the original, (Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii. p. 47—151.) and a translation (Chardon, Hist. des Sacrements, tom. iv. p. 219—277.) of the Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.

bishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins^f. In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance^g. Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper^h." The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest, who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or mo-

^f The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose, tom. vi. de Obit. Theodos. c. 34. p. 1207; Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, v. 26; and Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 24. Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25.) concise; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18.) must be used with precaution.

^g Codex Theodos. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 13. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favour the honest efforts of Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 721. and Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 578.

^h Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion qui cède à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. Esprit des Loix, l. xxiv. c. 2.

derate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy and with equal success.

C H A P.
XXVII.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the east: he had acquired the west by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy were usefully employed to restore the authority of the laws, and to correct the abuses which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts: but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justina, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle, and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosius had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He seated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered from the assassin of Gratian¹. Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the west from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor re-

Generosity
of Theodo-
sius.

A. D.
388—391.

¹ Τοῦτο περὶ τοῦς εὐεργέτας καθήκον ἐδοξεν εἶναι, is the niggard praise of Zosimus himself: l. iv. p. 267. Augustin says, with some happiness of expression, Valentinianum . . . misericordissima veneratione restituit.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Character
of Valen-
tinian.
A.D. 391.

turned from Milan to Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the east, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian: and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy; and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was not allowed to influence the government of her son^k. The pernicious attachment to the Arian sect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and instructions, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose, disposed the catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the west^l. They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogastes^m, a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-general of the

^k Sozomen, l. vii. c. 14. His chronology is very irregular.

^l See Ambrose, tom. ii. de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, etc. p. 1178; c. 36, etc. p. 1184. When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he fasted himself: he refused to see an handsome actress, etc. Since he ordered his wild beasts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 1.) to reproach him with the love of that amusement.

^m Zosimus (l. iv. p. 275.) praises the enemy of Theodosius. But he is detested by Socrates, l. v. c. 25. and Orosius, l. vii. c. 35.

armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty barbarian was secretly determined, either to rule or to ruin the empire of the west. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government; the progress of the conspiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power and without intelligence, insensibly sunk into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive^a. The indignation which he expressed, though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spirit of a prince, who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He secretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator; as the pledge of his sincerity, and the guardian of his safety. He contrived to apprise the emperor of the east of his helpless situation; and he declared, that unless Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence in the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and, as every day furnished some new provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, too hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne; and, as the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes with insulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile or

^a Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the second volume of the *Histories of France*) has preserved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an historian far more valuable than himself.

CHAP.
XXVII.

His death.
A. D. 392,
May 15.

Usurpation
of Eugenius.
A. D.
392—394.

the frown of a monarch;" and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard; and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world, that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair^o. His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan; and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration, to commemorate his virtue and his misfortunes^p. On this occasion, the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss^q.

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs: and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty was extinguished, expected, with tame resignation, the unknown master, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes himself; and the judicious barbarian thought

^o Godefroy (Dissertat. ad Philostorg. p. 429—434.) has diligently collected all the circumstances of the death of Valentinian the second. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove that it was secret.

^p De Obitu Valentinian. tom. ii. p. 1173—1196. He is forced to speak a discreet and obscure language: yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other ecclesiastic, would have dared to be.

^q See c. 51. p. 1188. c. 75. p. 1193. Dom. Chardon, (Hist. des Sacrements, tom. i. p. 86.) who owns that St. Ambrose most strenuously maintains the *indispensable* necessity of baptism, labours to reconcile the contradiction.

it more adviseable to reign under the name of some dependent Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius^r; whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary, to the rank of master of the offices. In the course both of his private and public service, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and eloquence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people; and the reluctance with which he seemed to ascend the throne, may inspire a favourable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and, without mentioning the name of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the east would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the respectable citizen who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the west^t. Theodosius was justly provoked, that the perfidy of a barbarian should have destroyed, in a moment, the labours and the fruit of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife^t, to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to assert by arms the violated majesty of the throne. But as the second conquest of the west was a task of difficulty and danger, he dismissed, with splendid presents, and an ambiguous answer, the ambassadors of Eugenius; and almost two years were consumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any decisive resolution, the pious emperor

^r Quem sibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul, is the contemptuous expression of Claudian, iv. Cons. Hon. 74. Eugenius professed christianity: but his secret attachment to paganism (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22; Philostorg. l. xi. c. 2.) is probable in a grammarian, and would secure the friendship of Zosimus: l. iv. p. 276, 277.

^s Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 278.) mentions this embassy; but he is diverted by another story from relating the event.

^t Συνετέραξεν ἡ τοῦτου γαμετὴ Γάλλα τὰ βασιλεία τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλοφύρομεν. Zosim. l. iv. p. 277. He afterwards says, (p. 280.) that Galla died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her husband was extreme, but short.

CHAP.
XXVII.

Theodosius
prepares for
war.

was anxious to discover the will of heaven; and as the progress of christianity had silenced the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted an Egyptian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, the gift of miracles, and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, embarked for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote province of Thebais^u. In the neighbourhood of that city, and on the summit of a lofty mountain, the holy John^x had constructed, with his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt above fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food that had been prepared by fire or any human art. Five days of the week he spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays and Sundays he regularly opened a small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants, who successively flowed from every part of the christian world. The eunuch of Theodosius approached the window with respectful steps, proposed his questions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of the emperor by the assurance of a bloody but infallible victory^y. The accomplishment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could supply. The industry of the two master-generals, Stilicho and Timasius, was directed to recruit the numbers and to revive the discipline of the Roman legions. The for-

^u Lycopolis is the modern Siut, or Osiot, a town of Said, about the size of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar; and has a very convenient fountain, "cujus potu signa virginittis eripiuntur." See d'Anville, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 181; Abulfeda, *Description*. *Ægypt.* p. 14; and the curious Annotations, p. 25. 92. of his editor Michaelis.

^x The life of John of Lycopolis is described by his two friends, Rufinus (l. ii. c. 1. p. 449.) and Palladius, (*Hist. Lausiaca*. c. 43. p. 738.) in Rosweyde's great collection of the *Vitæ Patrum*. Tillemont (*Mém. Ecclésiast.* tom. x. p. 718. 720.) has settled the chronology.

^y Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Claudian (in *Eutrop.* l. i. 312.) mentions the eunuch's journey: but he most contemptuously derides the Egyptian dreams, and the oracles of the Nile.

midable troops of barbarians marched under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he afterwards so fatally exerted for the destruction of Rome^a.

C H A P.
XXVII.

The emperor of the west, or, to speak more properly, his general Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press or to suspend, to contract or to multiply, his various methods of attack^a. Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy, without resistance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of the Frigidus^b, or Cold River^c. This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Adriatic, did

His victory
over Eugene-
nius.
A. D. 394.
Sept. 6.

^a Zosimus, l. iv. p. 280; Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alaric himself (de Bell. Getico, 524.) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits against the Romans.

———Tot Augustos Hebro qui teste fugavi.

Yet his vanity could scarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

^a Claudian (in iv. Cons. Honor. 77, etc.) contrasts the military plans of the two usurpers.

———Novitas audere priorem

Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla sequentem.

Hic nova moliri præceps: hic quærere tutus

Providus. Hic fuis; collectis viribus ille.

Hic vagus excurrens; hic intra claustra reductus

Dissimiles; sed morte pares.———

^b The Frigidus, a small though memorable stream in the country of Goretz, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Lisonzo, above Aquileia, some miles from the Adriatic. See d'Anville's Ancient and Modern Maps, and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius, tom. i. p. 188.

^c Claudian's wit is intolerable: the snow was dyed red; the cold river smoked; and the channel must have been choked with carcases, if the current had not been swelled with blood.

CHAP.
XXVII.

not allow much room for the operations of military skill; the spirit of Arbogastes would have disdained a pardon; his guilt extinguished the hope of a negotiation: and Theodosius was impatient to satisfy his glory and revenge, by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the emperor of the east immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, assigned the post of honourable danger to the Goths, and cherished a secret wish, that the bloody conflict might diminish the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thousand of those auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchased by their blood; the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate night, without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes^d; except that strong assurance which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger: but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed

^d Theodoret affirms, that St. John and St. Philip appeared to the waking, or sleeping, emperor, on horseback, etc. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, and in the crusades.

on his own tablets the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement: and they again marched with confidence to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the justice or the success of his arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest*, such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly arose from the east. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted or repelled their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skilfully improved; the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle, in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But when he was convinced, that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the intrepid barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the

* *Te propter, gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adversas acies; revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

These famous lines of Claudian (in iii. Cons. Honor. 93, etc. A.D. 396.) are alleged by his contemporaries, Augustin and Orosius; who suppress the pagan deity of Æolus; and add some circumstances from the information of eyewitnesses. Within four months after the victory, it was compared by Ambrose to the miraculous victories of Moses and Joshua.

CHAP.
XXVII.

empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the west. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambrose alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant, whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church: and the clemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan^f.

Death of
Theodosius.
A. D. 395,
Jan. 17.

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodosius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforeseen and fatal event, which destroyed in a moment the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of disease^g. The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp; and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the

^f The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambrose, tom. ii. epist. lxii. p. 1022; Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 26—34; Augustin de Civitat. Dei, v. 26; Orosius, l. vii. c. 35; Sozomen, l. vii. c. 24; Theodoret, l. v. c. 24; Zosimus, l. iv. p. 281, 282; Claudian, in iii. Cons. Hon. 63—105. in iv. Cons. Hon. 70—117; and the Chronicles published by Scaliger.

^g This disease, ascribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 26.) to the fatigues of war, is represented by Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 2.) as the effect of sloth and intemperance: for which Photius calls him an impudent liar. Godefroy, Dissert. p. 438.

speedy dissolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the eastern and western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and Honorius, who had already obtained from the tenderness of their father the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war^h; but as soon as Theodosius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he called his younger son, Honorius, to enjoy the fruits of the victory, and to receive the sceptre of the west from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the Circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Honorius supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night. Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The barbarians, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated, with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loss.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, Corruption
his imperfections have not been dissembled; the act of of the times.
cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarnished

^h Zosimus supposes, that the boy Honorius accompanied his father : l. iv. p. 280. Yet the *quanto flagrant pectora voto*, is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet; who clearly describes the emperor's refusal, and the journey of Honorius, *after* the victory. Claud. in iii. Cons. 78—125.

the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually adverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects; he boldly asserts, that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit, which sacrifices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite¹. The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury and depravation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action, which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus; the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair, which enjoys the present hour, and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings, which require an immediate expense, and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of ruin and desolation tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony, which might every hour become the

¹ Zosimus, l. iv. p. 244.

prey of the rapacious Goths. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege, may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

CHAP.
XXVII.

The effeminate luxury which infected the manners of courts and cities, had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions: and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer, who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius, that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour, from the foundation of the city to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline, and the disuse of exercise, rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore; and they successively obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirasses and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword, and the formidable *pilum*, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to suffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the more shameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the use, of defensive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name, ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enervated soldiers abandoned their own

The infantry lay aside their armour.

CHAP.
XXVII.

and the public defence; and their pusillanimous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire^k.

^k Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 10. The series of calamities which he marks, compels us to believe, that the *hero* to whom he dedicates his book, is the last and most inglorious of the Valentinians.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF PAGANISM.—INTRODUCTION OF
THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS AND RELICS AMONG THE
CHRISTIANS.

THE ruin of paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may therefore deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and, *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of jewish history^a, were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied by the clergy to the mild and universal reign of christianity^b. The zeal of the emperors was excited

The destruction of the pagan religion.
A.D.
378—395.

^a St. Ambrose (tom. ii. de Obit. Theodos. p. 1208.) expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject (de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 467. edit. Gronov.) is piously inhuman. Nec filio jubet (the Mosaic law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, etc.

^b Bayle (tom. ii. p. 406. in his Commentaire Philosophique) justifies and limits these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the jews. The attempt is laudable.

C H A P. to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity;
 XXVIII. and the temples of the Roman world were subverted
 about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

State of pa- From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the
 ganism at Romans preserved the regular succession of the several
 Rome. colleges of the sacerdotal order^c. Fifteen pontiffs ex-
 exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things and
 persons that were consecrated to the service of the
 gods; and the various questions which perpetually
 arose in a loose and traditionary system, were sub-
 mitted to the judgement of their holy tribunal. Fifteen
 grave and learned augurs observed the face of the
 heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, accord-
 ing to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the si-
 bylline books (their name of quindecimvirs was derived
 from their number) occasionally consulted the history
 of future, and, as it should seem, of contingent, events.
 Six vestals devoted their virginity to the guard of the
 sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the dura-
 tion of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to
 behold with impunity^d. Seven epulos prepared the
 table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and
 regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The
 three flamens of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus,
 were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three
 most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of
 Rome and of the universe. The king of the sacrifices
 represented the person of Numa and of his successors,
 in the religious functions which could be performed
 only by royal hands. The confraternities of the sali-

^c See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero de Legibus, ii. 7, 8; Livy, i. 20; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, l. ii. p. 119—129. edit. Hudson; Beaufort, République Romaine, tom. i. p. 1—90; and Moyle, vol. i. p. 10—55. The last is the work of an English whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary.

^d These mystic, and perhaps imaginary, symbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It seems probable, that the palladium was a small statue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and distaff; that it was usually enclosed in a *seria*, or barrel; and that a similar barrel was placed by its side, to disconcert curiosity or sacrilege. See Mezeriac, Comment. sur les Epitres d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 60—66; and Lipsius, tom. iii. p. 610. de Vesta, etc. c. 10.

ans, the lupercals, etc. practised such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the councils of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received from the consecrated lands and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendour of the priesthood, and all the expenses of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff or of augur: the seats of Cicero* and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests who composed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened, he sternly rejected those profane symbols†; applied to the service of the state,

C H A P.
XXVIII.

* Cicero frankly, (ad Atticum, l. ii. epist. 5.) or indirectly, (ad Familiar. l. xv. epist. 4.) confesses, that the *augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero, (l. iv. epist. 8.) and the chain of tradition might be continued from history and marbles.

† Zosimus, l. iv. p. 249, 250. I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

C H A P. XXVIII. or of the church, the revenues of the priests and vestals; abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions and habits of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall or temple in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory^g; a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand^h. The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess, to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberationsⁱ. The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian^k. But the emperor yet spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome, the delicacy of the christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice^l.

Petition of
the senate
for the
altar of
Victory.
A. D. 384.

But the christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome^m; and it was only by their absence that they could express their dissent from

^g This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

^h Prudentius (l. ii. in initio) has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory: but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, tom. i. p. 341.

ⁱ See Suetonius (in August. c. 35.) and the exordium of Pliny's panegyric.

^k These facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambrose.

^l The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find one christian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xvii. p. 825.) deplors the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

^m Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense, (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 147.) that the christians had a majority in the senate.

the legal, though profane, acts of a pagan majority. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court^a, to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus^o, a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa and prefect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues^p. The orator, whose petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavours to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of victory; he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and

C H A P.
XXVIII.

^a The first (A. D. 382.) to Gratian, who refused them audience. The second (A. D. 384.) to Valentinian, when the field was disputed by Symmachus and Ambrose. The third (A. D. 388.) to Theodosius; and the fourth (A. D. 392.) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 372—399.) fairly represents the whole transaction.

^o Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and sacerdotal honours, represented the emperor under the two characters of *pontifex maximus*, and *princeps senatus*. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.

^p As if any one, says Prudentius, (in Symmach. i. 639.) should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and polemic saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible *secret* of the universe eludes the enquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to those rites and opinions which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if the devout people has frequently obtained the blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods; it must appear still more adviseable to persist in the same salutary practice, and not to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The test of antiquity and success was applied with singular advantage to the religion of Numa; and Rome herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. "Most excellent princes," says the venerable matron, "fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the capitol. Were my gray hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system that I am required to adopt; but I am well assured, that the correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignominious office¹." The fears of the people supplied what the discretion of the orator

¹ See the fifty-fourth epistle of the tenth book of Symmachus. In the form and disposition of his ten books of epistles, he imitated the younger Pliny; whose rich and florid style he was supposed by his friends to equal or excel. Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. 1. But the luxuriancy of Symmachus consists of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts, and few sentiments, can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

had suppressed; and the calamities which afflicted or threatened the declining empire, were unanimously imputed by the pagans to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine. C H A P. XXVIII.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the emperors against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose condescends to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdition^r. Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory: but the same arguments fell with much more energy and effect from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot wheels of Theodosius^s. In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important

^r See Ambrose, tom. ii. epist. xvii. xviii. p. 825—833. The former of these epistles is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius; who composed his two books against Symmachus (A. D. 404.) while that senator was still alive. It is whimsical enough, that Montesquieu (*Considérations*, etc. c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487.) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus; and amuse himself with descanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustin, and Salvian.

^s See Prudentius, in Symmach. l. i. 545, etc. The christian agrees with the pagan Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 283.) in placing this visit of Theodosius after the second civil war, *gemini bis victor cæde Tyranni*, l. i. 410. But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

question, whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans. The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity^t. The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children^u, who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the east. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the christian religion; and “the luminaries of the world, the venerable assembly of Catos,” such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius, “were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garment; to cast the skin of the old serpent;

^t Prudentius, after proving that the sense of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say, 609, etc.

Adspice quam pleno subsellia nostra senatu

Decernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne

Idolium longe purgata ab urbe fugandum.

Qua vocat egregii sententia principis, illuc

Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia transit.

Zosimus ascribes to the conscript fathers an heathenish courage, which few of them are found to possess.

^u Jerome specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grandchildren, as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself: an extraordinary proselyte! tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54.

to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence; and to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs^x." The citizens, who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace, who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran and Vatican with an incessant throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate, which proscribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans^y: the splendour of the capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt^z. Rome submitted to the yoke of the gospel; and the vanquished provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

The filial piety of the emperors themselves engaged them to proceed, with some caution and tenderness, in the reformation of the eternal city. Those absolute monarchs acted with less regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labour which had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius^a, was vigorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety of the republic; he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first

Destruction
of the tem-
ples in the
provinces.
A. D. 381,
etc.

^x *Exsultare patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; conciliumque senum gestire Catonum
Candidiore toga niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.*

The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

^y Prudentius, after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, asks, with some truth and confidence,

*Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Christe, dicatam
In leges transisse tuas?*

^z Jerome exults in the desolation of the capitol and the other temples of Rome: tom. i. p. 54. tom. ii. p. 95.

^a Libanius (*Orat. pro Templis*, p. 10. Genev. 1634, published by James Godefroy, and now extremely scarce,) accuses Valentinian and Valeus of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the eastern emperor: but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the code, and the evidence of ecclesiastical history.

C. H. A. P. experiments against the pagans, encouraged the pious
 XXVIII. emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscrip-

tion: the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the east, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the christian and catholic faith^b. He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal, as well as infamous: and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims^c; every subsequent explanation tended to involve in the same guilt the general practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the pretorian prefect of the east, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the west; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army^d. Here the desolation might have stopped; and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monu-

^b See his laws in the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7—11.

^c Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inquisition of entrails: see Feithius, *Antiquitat. Homer.* l. i. c. 10. 16. The Tuscans, who produced the first *haruspices*, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans. Cicero de *Divinatione*, ii. 23.

^d Zosimus, l. iv. p. 245. 249; Theodoret, l. v. c. 21; Idatius in Chron. Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles. A. D.* 389. No. 52. Libanius (pro *Templis*, p. 10.) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.

ments of Grecian architecture: and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain, as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly: and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods; and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne^e, increased the zeal of the christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition^f: but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours^g, marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese; and in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus^h, as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately

C H A P.
XXVIII.

^e Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 8. 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins. Libanius pro Templis, p. 26, 27. and Godefroy's notes, p. 59.

^f See this curious oration of Libanius pro Templis, pronounced, or rather composed, about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's version and remarks: *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 135—163.

^g See the life of Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9—14. The saint once mistook (as don Quixote might have done) an harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

^h Compare Sozomen, l. vii. c. 15. with Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. Between them, they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted by the skill and solidity with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence: on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was supported by fifteen massy columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the synod of the province pronounced, without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed with tumultuous fury from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder; and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial palenessⁱ. A small number of temples was

ⁱ Libanius *pro Templis*, p. 10—13. He rails at these black-garbed

protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. C H A P.
XXVIII.
The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a christian church^k; and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome^l. But in almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of *those* barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria^m. The temple
of Serapis at
Alexandria. Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egyptⁿ. The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions^o. The Egyptians, who were obstinately

men, the christian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

^k Prosper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium; Annal. Eccles. A. D. 389. No. 58, etc. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles.

^l Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 4. p. 468. This consecration was performed by pope Boniface the fourth. I am ignorant of the favourable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

^m Sophronius composed a recent and separate history (Jerome, in Script. Eccles. tom. i. p. 303.) which has furnished materials to Socrates, l. v. c. 16; Theodoret, l. v. c. 22; and Rufinus, l. ii. c. 22. Yet the last, who had been at Alexandria, before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

ⁿ Gerard Vossius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80. and de Idololatria, l. i. c. 29.) strives to support the strange notion of the fathers, that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.

^o Origo dei nondum nostris celebrata. Ægyptiorum antistites sic memorent, etc. Tacit. Hist. iv. 83. The Greeks, who had travelled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity.

C H A P. devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities ^p.
 XXVIII.

But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted without resistance to the power of the god of Pontus: an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris^q, the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple^r, which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes^s. After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the christians themselves; as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inun-

^p Macrobius, *Saturnal.* l. i. c. 7. Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

^q At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedence which the queen assumed, may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution; (*Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 31. edit. Wesseling;*) and the same order is observed in *Plutarch's Treatise of Isis and Osiris*, whom he identifies with Serapis.

^r *Ammianus*, xxii. 16. *The Expositio totius Mundi*, (p. 8. in *Hudson's Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.*) and *Rufinus*, (l. ii. c. 22.) celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

^s See *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. ix. p. 397—416. The old library of the Ptolemies was totally consumed in *Cæsar's Alexandrian war*. *Marc Antony* gave the whole collection of *Pergamus* (two hundred thousand volumes) to *Cleopatra*, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.

datations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople[†].

C H A P.
XXVIII.

At that time[‡], the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus[§], the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius[¶], who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. These pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies, and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the christians set up a shout of joy and exultation, whilst the unfortunate pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and

Its final destruction.
A. D. 389.

[†] Libanius (pro Templis, p. 21.) indiscreetly provokes his christian masters by this insulting remark.

[‡] We may choose between the date of Marcellinus, A. D. 389. or that of Prosper, A. D. 391. Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 310. 756. prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.

[§] Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xi. p. 441—500. The ambiguous situation of Theophilus, a *saint*, as the friend of Jerome; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chrysostom; produces a sort of impartiality: yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly inclined against him.

[¶] Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 411.) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damascius, which shows the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away, to make room for a church, erected in honour of the christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator, whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice^a. The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbishop^a might have been satisfied with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing an human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of devout husbands, and unsuspecting females^b. Charges like these may seem to deserve some degree of credit, as

^a Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ea a nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorant. Orosius, l. vi. c. 15. p. 421. edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush.

^a Eunapius, in the lives of Antoninus and Ædesius, execrates the sacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiii. p. 453.) quotes an epistle of Isidore of Pelusium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worship of gold, the *auri sacra* fames.

^b Rufinus names the priest of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himself, in a moment of transport, when he could not disguise the tone of his

they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story, than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis^c was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat^d. He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was

C H A P.
XXVIII.

voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æschines, (see Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, Scamandre,) and the adventure of Mundus, (Joseph. *Antiquitat. Judaic.* l. xviii. c. 3. p. 877. edit. Havercamp.) may prove that such amorous frauds have been practised with success.

^c See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon, tom. ii. p. 297: but the description of Macrobius, (*Saturnal.* l. i. c. 20.) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

^d *Sed fortes tremuere manus; motique verenda
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent
In sua credebant redituras membra secures.*

Lucan. iii. 429.

"Is it true," said Augustus to a veteran of Italy, at whose house he supped, "that the man who gave the first blow to the golden statue of Anaitis, was instantly deprived of his eyes, and of his life?" "I was that man," replied the clear-sighted veteran; "and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddess." Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 24.

C H A P. still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burnt in the amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion, that propose any visible and material objects of worship, have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind: but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is scarcely possible, that, in every disposition of mind, he should preserve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object and the folly of his superstitious attachment^e. After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the pagans, that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet^f.

^e The History of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

^f Sozomen, l. vii. c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has uniformly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the *Mém. de l'Académie*.

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed; but the ingenious superstition of the pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malicious curiosity, disguised their *religious*, under the appearance of *convivial*, meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns which were sung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt or penalty of an illegal sacrifice^g. Whatever might be the truth of the facts, or the merit of the distinction^h, these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the pagansⁱ. This prohibitory law is expressed in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any city,

C H A P.
XXVIII.The pagan
religion is
prohibited,
A. D. 390.

démie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 344—353; Greaves's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the English measure.

^g Libanius (pro Templis, p. 15, 16, 17.) pleads their cause with gentle and insinuating rhetoric. From the earliest age, such feasts had enlivened the country; and those of Bacchus (Georgic ii. 380.) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad loc. Liban. and Codex Theodos. tom. vi. p. 284.

^h Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals, A. D. 399. "Absque ullo sacrificio, atque ulla superstitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso. Codex Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17. 19.

ⁱ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. iv. p. 134.) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this intolerant law.

C H A P. XXVIII. or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim." The act of sacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the enquiry) a crime of high treason against the state, which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of pagan superstition which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies, subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine not less considerable is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the christian world ^k.

oppressed,

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, christianity had been proscribed, as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were in some measure countenanced by the inseparable union, and rapid conquests, of the catholic church. But the same excuses of fear and ig-

^k Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustin, who thus addresses the Donatists. "Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est." Epist. xciii. No. 10. quoted by Le Clerc, (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. viii. p. 277.) who adds some judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious christians.

norance cannot be applied to the christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the gospel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness, as well as folly, of paganism; the light of reason and of faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes, were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian code¹. Instead of asserting that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the christian magistrate, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience

C H A P.
XXVIII.

¹ Orosius, l. vii. c. 28. p. 537. Augustin (Enarrat. in Psalm. cxl. apud Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 458.) insults their cowardice. "Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio (cum his legibus ista prohiberentur) et non negavit?"

C H A P.
XXVIII.

by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity^m. If the pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly oppositionⁿ of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The pagans of the west, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostasy; that by his permission the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of heaven by the extirpation of idolatry^o.

and finally
extinguished.

A. D. 390
—420, etc.

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign^p. The profession of christianity was not made

^m Libanius (pro Templis, p. 17, 18.) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and, as it were, theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

ⁿ Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32.) by declaring to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, *ἴσθι τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν δέσποτας, καὶ αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθήσοντας*, the proprietors will defend themselves and the laws.

^o Paulinus, in Vit. Ambros. c. 26; Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 26; Theodoret, l. v. c. 24.

^p Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact; (pro Templis, p. 32;) a rash joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries, who credulously received the fables of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Symmachus^q, and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius^r; and the two eloquent apologists of paganism were never required either to change or to dissemble their religious opinions. The pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophic remains of Eunapius, Zosimus^s, and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the christian princes, who viewed with a smile of contempt the last struggles of superstition and despair^t. But the imperial laws, which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of paganism, were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion, which was supported by custom, rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet or the

C H A P.
XXVIII.

^q Denique pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores.

Ipsæ magistratum tibi consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit.

Prudent. in Symmach. i. 617, etc.

^r Libanius (pro Templis, p. 32.) is proud that Theodosius should thus distinguish a man, who even in his *presence* would swear by Jupiter. Yet this *presence* seems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

^s Zosimus, who styles himself count and ex-advocate of the treasury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the christian princes, and even the father of his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius, (l. iii. c. 40—42.) who lived towards the end of the sixth century.

^t Yet the pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God: nor does St. Augustin (v. 26.) deny the charge.

C H A P. philosopher, may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books^a. The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of the catholic church: and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator^x.

The worship
of the christian
martyrs.

The ruin of the pagan religion is described by the sophists, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of christian martyrs. "The monks," a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuse the name of men, "are the authors of the new worship, which, in the place of those deities who are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the

^a The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the mahometan religion above a century, under the tyranny of the inquisition, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes, *Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 1—198.

^x *Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, etc.* Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 22. A. D. 423. The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied, that his judgement had been somewhat premature.

meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who, for the multitude of their crimes, have suffered a just and ignominious death; their bodies, still marked by the impression of the lash, and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate; such," continues Eunapius, "are the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity; whose tombs are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of the people^γ." Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the christians for the martyrs of the faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those spiritual heroes^δ. In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman^ε; and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice^ς.

^γ See Eunapius, in his life of the sophist Ædesius; in that of Eustathius he foretells the ruin of paganism, *καὶ τὴ μυθώδεα, καὶ ἀειδὲς σκότος τυράννησει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλιστα*.

^δ Caius, (apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 25.) a Roman presbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, (A.D. 202—219.) is an early witness of this superstitious practice.

^ε Chrysostom: Quod Christus sit Deus: tom. i. nov. edit. No. 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict the fourteenth's pastoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

^ς Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus? qui, super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda offert Domino sacri-

C H A P.
XXVIII.

The new capital of the eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed near three hundred years in the obscure graves, from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus^c. About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings^d. The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason^e, were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerome, something was still

ficia, et tumulos eorum, Christi arbitratu altaria. Jerome, tom. ii. *advers. Vigilant.* p. 153.

^c Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122.) bears witness to these translations, which are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passion of St. Andrew at Patræ, is described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 60. N^o. 34.) wishes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Constantinople. *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. i. p. 317—323. 588—594.

^d Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122.) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

^e The presbyter Vigilantius, the protestant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, saints, fasts, etc. for which Jerome compares him to the hydra, Cerberus, the centaurs, etc. and considers him only as the organ of the demon: tom. ii. p. 120—126. Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerome and Vigilantius, and St. Augustin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the fathers.

deemed wanting to the sanctity of a christian church, till C H A P. XXVIII.
 it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics,
 which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which General reflections.
 elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the re-
 formation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics
 corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the chris-
 tian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be
 observed even in the first generations which adopted
 and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of I. Fabulous saints and relics.
 saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones^f,
 stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the
 church. Without much regard for truth or proba-
 bility, they invented names for skeletons, and actions
 for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy
 men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by
 religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine
 and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary
 heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of
 crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to
 suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in
 which the bones of a malefactor were adored instead
 of those of a saint^g. A superstitious practice, which
 tended to increase the temptations of fraud and cre-
 dulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and
 of reason in the christian world.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been II. Miracles.
 much less rapid and victorious, if the faith of the peo-
 ple had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of
 visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and
 virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of

^f M. de Beausobre (*Hist. du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 648.) has applied
 a worldly sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyrna, who care-
 fully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

^g Martin of Tours (see his Life, c. 8. by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this
 confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be
 natural; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two
 was likely to happen most frequently?

C H A P.
XXVIII.

the younger Theodosius, Lucian^b, a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him, in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself and his companions from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery, were successively removed by new visions: and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, such as that of paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala: but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honour on mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relics, a drop of

^b Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A. D. 415. No. 7—16.* The Benedictine editors of St. Augustin have given (at the end of the work *De Civitate Dei*) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent. The most incredible parts of the legend are smoothed and softened by Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés. tom. ii. p. 9, etc.*

bloodⁱ, or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustin^k, whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa, by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of christianity. Augustin solemnly declares, that he has selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese^l. If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints, of the christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables and the errors which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe, that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merits, since it could scarcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary and established laws of nature.

III. The innumerable miracles of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of

III. Re-
val of poly-
theism.

ⁱ A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples, till he was superseded by St. Januarius. Ruinart. Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 529.

^k Augustin composed the two and twenty books de Civitate Dei in the space of thirteen years, A. D. 413—426. Tillmont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 608, etc. His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskilfully, executed.

^l See Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 22. and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, bishop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 249.) has preserved a Gallic or Spanish proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he lies."

C H A P.
XXVIII.

the invisible world ; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and expérience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep^m. It was evident, (without presuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity,) that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers ; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination ; since it was proved by *experience*, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries ; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martinⁿ. The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion, that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth ; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the catholic church ; and that the individuals who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind : they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the pos-

^m Burnet (de Statu Mortuorum, p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repose, of human souls till the day of judgement. He afterwards exposes (p. 91, etc.) the inconveniences which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

ⁿ Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs, either in the bosom of Abraham, (in loco refrigerii,) or else under the altar of God. Nec posse suis tumulis et ubi voluerunt adesse præsentis. But Jerome (tom. ii. p. 122.) sternly refutes this *blasphemy*. Tu Deo leges pones ? Tu apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodia, nec sint cum Domino suo ; de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit ? Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum diabolus et demones toto vagentur in orbe, etc.

session of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, ^{C H A P.} avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a XXVIII. celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their supernatural power°. Atrocious indeed must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey^p. The immediate, and almost instantaneous effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the christians of the ample measure of favour and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to enquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration, as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive christians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the reign of polytheism^q.

° Fleury, *Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iii. p. 80.

^p At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, five hundred and forty jews; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the synagogue, driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks, etc. See the original letter of Severus bishop of Minorca, (*ad calcem St. Augustin. de Civ. Dei.*) and the judicious remarks of Bagnage, tom. viii. p. 245—251.

^q Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 434.) observes, like a philosopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheism and theism.

C H A P.
XXVIII.

IV. Intro-
duction of
pagan cere-
monies.

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century^a, Tertullian, or Lactantius^b, had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint, or martyr^c; they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers; which diffused, at noonday, a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their

^a D'Aubigné (see his own *Mémoires*, p. 156—160.) frankly offered, with the consent of the huguenot ministers, to allow the first four hundred years as the rule of faith. The cardinal du Perron, haggled for forty years more, which were indiscreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this foolish bargain.

^b The worship practised and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, etc. is so *extremely* pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the pagan, sometimes glance against the jewish, ceremonies.

^c Faustus the Manichæan accuses the catholics of idolatry. *Vertitis idola in martyres. . . . quos votis similibus colitis.* M. de Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 629—700.) a protestant, but a philosopher, has represented, with candour and learning, the introduction of christian idolatry in the fourth and fifth centuries.

health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness C H A P.
XXVIII.
of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver: and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind^u: but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the catholic church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire: but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals^x.

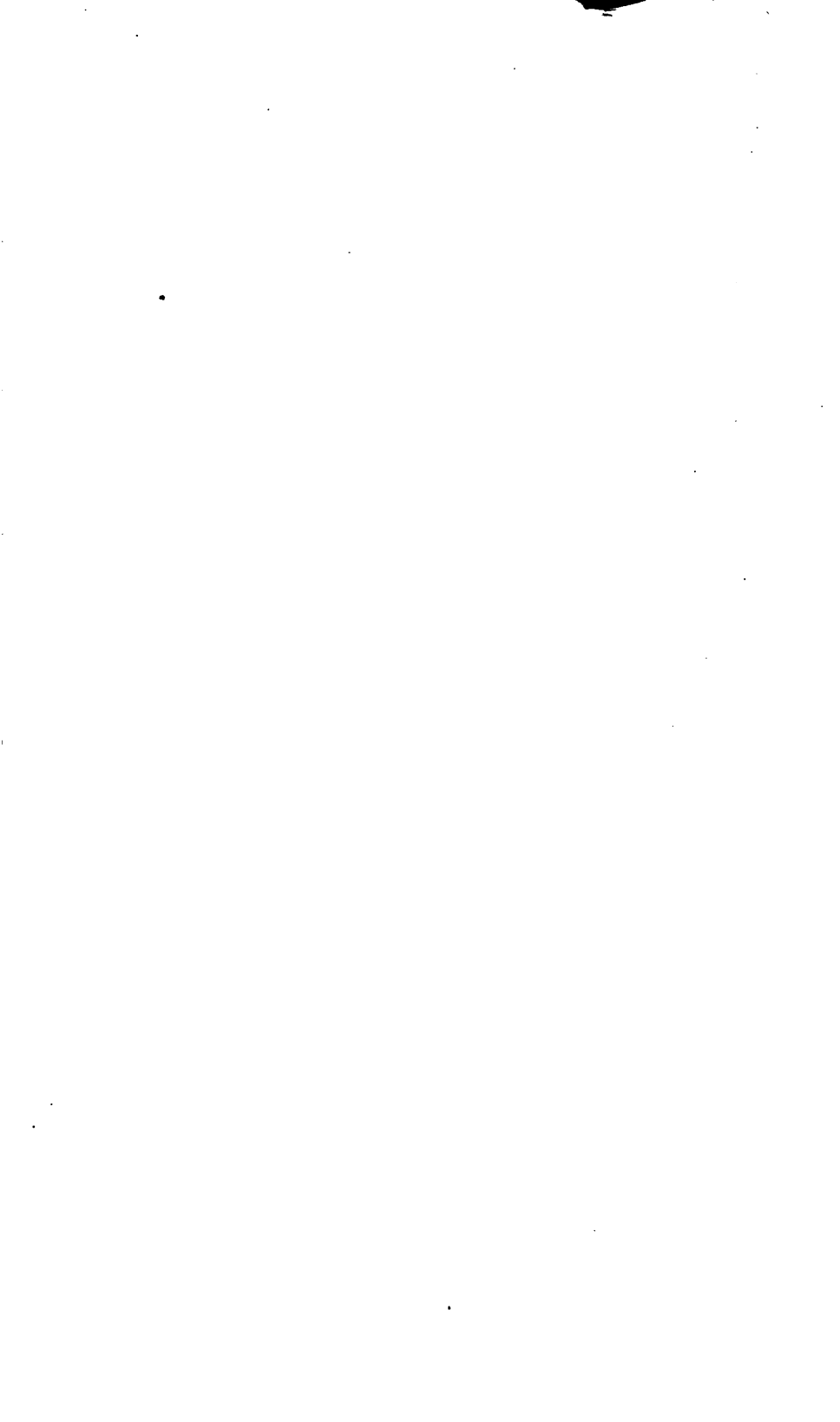
^u The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts, by rendering it too general and absolute: *Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 126, etc.

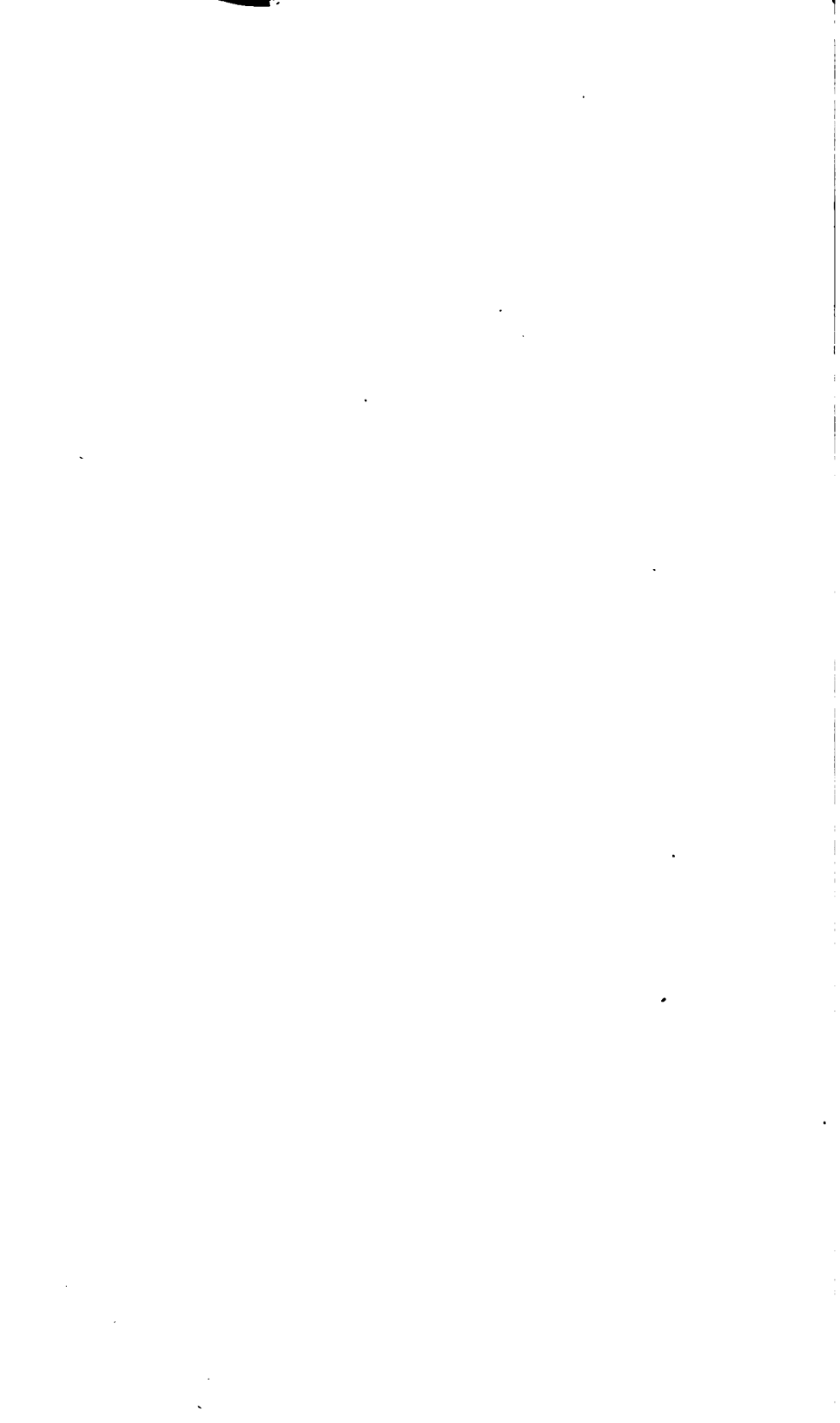
^x The imitation of paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120—132.) the history of the two religions; and to prove the antiquity of the christian copy.

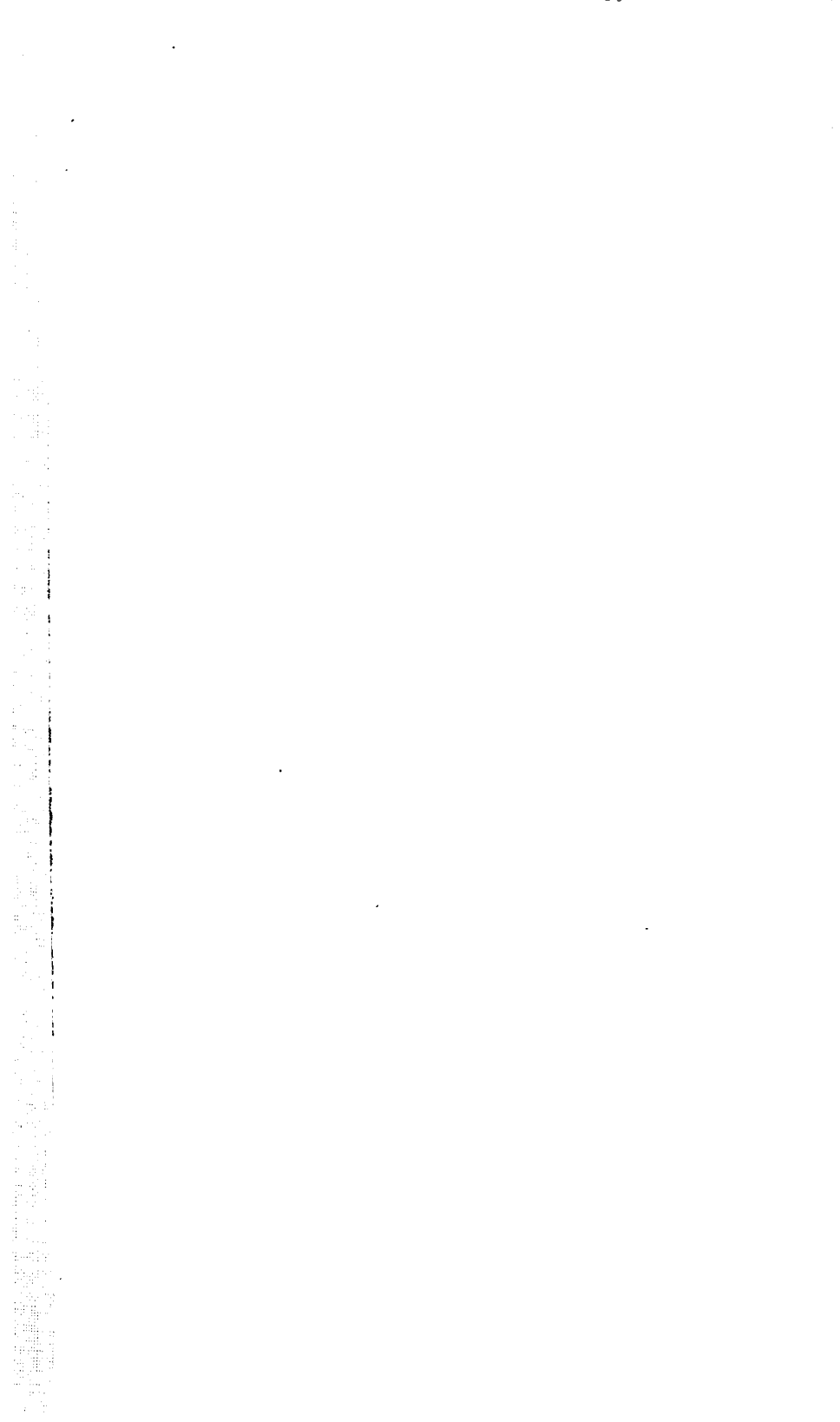
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